

RUSSIAN FEMALE ENTREPRENEURS

A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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ABSTRACT

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and subsequent transition of the Russian Federation from a command economy to a free market economy changed the economic, political and social landscapes in the country enormously, opening the way to legalized entrepreneurship in the form of private business ownership. Women took an active role in this process, increasing the number of female-owned enterprises, expanding into new fields of business and contributing to wealth and jobs. This study aims to undertake qualitative research on female entrepreneurs in Russia, notably amongst women owner-managers of small and medium sized firms in Moscow, and to examine what motivated Russian women entrepreneurs to launch and manage their own businesses as they themselves understand it. The focus of this study is on women entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurial experience, rather than on their businesses.

The research is based on 30 in-depth phenomenological interviews, which give rich descriptions of the women's entrepreneurial experiences from the participants' point of view. The study provides insights into Russian women entrepreneurs' motivation, personal traits and management styles, which have been relatively under-researched in the literature. It also affirms the importance of the institutional context affirmed by other researchers (Aidis et al, 2005; Estrin et al, 2005; Peng, 2001; McMillan and Woodruff, 2002), who have undertaken research in former transition economies.

The findings of the research confirmed that the women from the sample were motivated by external factors to start-up their businesses: they were either pushed into entrepreneurship by necessity, or drawn to it by favourable opportunities. When reflecting on their motivation, they identified intrinsic motives, such as the need for achievement and recognition, a desire to help others and to be a leader, to have an interesting job, fulfil their potential and realize their dreams. They attributed their success in business to their intuition, interpersonal and leadership skills, and stressed the importance of a strong personal drive, faith and the capacity to love humanity. In the context of an unstable business environment in Russia, the women were prudent when weighing risks, and relied on their personal informal networks to address complex situations in an effective way.

The research makes a contribution to gender studies, proliferation of subjective qualitative methodological approaches in entrepreneurial research, and links motivation, trait, institutional, human and social capital theories, opening up interesting opportunities for further research on the intersections of these theoretical perspectives.

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And finally, I cannot omit from these Acknowledgements a very special debt of gratitude to the United Kingdom for providing this opportunity to a Russian woman scholar. In Russian nouns have gender, and while "United Kingdom" is neither masculine nor feminine, Britain, like England, and of course Russia "herself," are feminine. Whether or not there is a feminine consciousness behind these sounds is immaterial: what is very much to the point is that both the Russia I represent, and the England I have come to love, have had some genuinely extraordinary women at the uppermost point in the hierarchy. And today, of course, England's sovereign, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, is the world's single most prominent and inspiring woman. In our modern Russia, today, we are very much aware and proud of the ties of kinship that joined the House of Windsor with our own now extinguished former ruling house. In particular, the memory of the saintly, martyred and highly enterprising granddaughter of Queen Victoria, Ella (St. Elizaveta to us) is viewed by many modern Russians as a kind of patron saint and ultimate example for socially committed young women.

To Her Majesty, therefore, to all the women of Britain and my own country, destined to make a difference in the future of our shared Civilisation, this modest work is humbly dedicated, with a huge debt of gratitude, and hope for a better future.

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PART ONE:
LITERATURE REVIEW AND
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the topic of the research and defines the aims and objectives of the research. The first section provides the background and rationale for the research, gives the key facts about the participation of women in entrepreneurial activity worldwide and specifies aims and objectives of the research. Section 1.2 outlines the context of the research, placing it within a broader field of social science and gender studies. The second section continues with a brief overview of the development of research on female entrepreneurs worldwide, highlighting different areas of the research and its limitations. Finally it gives the key facts about entrepreneurship in Russia and observes the state of research on Russian women entrepreneurs. Section 1.3 explains the reasons of choosing the topic. The last section 1.4 outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Background of the research

This research has arisen as a consequence of two major phenomena of the 20th Century: transition of former communist countries to market economy which opened the way to privately held businesses and entrepreneurship (Welter et al, 2007; Aidis et al, 2005; Ageev et al. 1995); and increasing number of women starting up businesses, holding top management positions and participating more actively in social life (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor Report, 2007; Centre for Women's Business Research, 2004).

Without doubt, the transition process has resulted in profound and dramatic changes to the economic, political and social landscapes in the countries that used to be part of the Soviet empire. One of the major changes for all post-Soviet countries has been the development of legalized entrepreneurship in the form of private business ownership. The emergence of a small and medium enterprise sector and conditions supporting entrepreneurship are key elements in the transition to a market economy. This is of special importance in transition countries not only for the wealth and job generation possibilities that small private firms offer for individuals, but also for the additional potential welfare gains for the economy and society as a whole (Welter et al, 2007).

According to The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) 2007 Report on Women and Entrepreneurship released by The Center for Women's Leadership at Babson College, more than a third of all people involved in entrepreneurial activity are women. According to the research project released by the Centre for Women's Business Research in December 2008 in the United States women own 20% of firms with revenues exceeding \$1 million.

Across the 40 countries in the GEM 2007 report, low/middle-income countries showed the highest rates of female early-stage entrepreneurial activity, while high-income countries reported the lowest. Even so, men are more likely to be involved in entrepreneurial activity than women. In high-income countries, men are almost twice as likely to be early-stage or established business owners than women. Russia is the only country where the rate of female early-stage entrepreneurship is significantly higher than the male rate. Women in Russia exhibited the highest women's early-stage entrepreneurial activity (39.3 %) while high-income countries (such as Belgium and Sweden) reported the lowest (1 % and 2.3 %).

This data suggests that, if the potential contribution of entrepreneurship to economic development and social inclusion is to be fulfilled, it is important that women as well as men are fully represented as entrepreneurs. In this context, Aidis et al (2005) point out that female-owned enterprises are of special significance in a transition context for a number of additional reasons. They tend to more frequently employ other women, which help to reduce the effect of discrimination against women in the labour market. Secondly, by reducing female unemployment, women-owned SMEs can assist in fighting the trafficking of women which is of great concern in many transition countries. Thirdly, female business owners can serve as role models for younger generations demonstrating new opportunities for employment. In addition, by encouraging potential female entrepreneurs to start businesses, it could result in a more successful if not more rapid transition process through increased innovative capacities and private sector development.

However, while female entrepreneurship has become quite an established area of research in developed countries (Moore, 1990), the research on Russian female entrepreneurs is still limited (Chirikova, 2002) and tends to be quantitative (Kozlova, 2002). As a consequence of the rise in entrepreneurship in Russia and the few qualitative studies focused on female entrepreneurship in Russia, the researcher has undertaken to conduct qualitative research among Russian female entrepreneurs.

1.2. Aims and objectives of the research

The aim of the research is, thereby, to analyse female entrepreneurship in Russia, notably among women owner-managers of small and medium sized enterprises in Moscow area, and to examine what motivated Russian women entrepreneurs to set up and manage their own business as perceived by the female entrepreneurs themselves.

The main objectives of the research are, therefore, as follows:

1. To examine the context and growth of entrepreneurship, notably female entrepreneurship in Russia from 1987, the commencement of reforms, to present day;
2. To evaluate existing literature on female entrepreneurship with regard notably to female entrepreneurship in Russia since 1987;
3. To discuss theories found in the literature on female entrepreneurship and general psychology literature, which may explain the motivation of women entrepreneurs.
4. To explore by means of interviews the personal characteristics of Russian women entrepreneurs as perceived by them; and evaluate the extent to which these may have influenced their decision to start and manage their own businesses;
5. To relate the findings of this research to the theories concerning entrepreneurial motivation and performance, found in entrepreneurship and motivation literature.

In order to achieve the fourth aim of this research the researcher intends to answer the following questions, which were formulated on the basis of literature review and data collection:

1. What is the background of Russian female entrepreneurs and do Russian female entrepreneurs share any personal traits, and if so, what are they?
2. What motivated Russian female entrepreneurs to start and manage their own businesses from 1987 onwards?
3. How do Russian female entrepreneurs interpret what has led to their entrepreneurial success?

1.3. Context of research

The following section represents the context of the research, starting with broader context of women's voice literature and gender studies, narrowing it to the research on female entrepreneurs and finally focusing on the context of entrepreneurship and women business owners in Russia.

1.3.1. Gender studies

Gender as a socially constructed phenomenon became an area of scientific interest after the 1960s (Toren et al., 1997). Generally it could be said that culture in a wide sense of the word, as a system of human views on reality, has been created by men, and the history of entrepreneurship as well as the scientific theories of it were not an exception.

Since the 1960's, when feminism began to come to the fore part in discussion about contemporary culture, it was suggested that describing and explaining reality from only the male point of view restricted its understanding and that perhaps another reality exists, which is based on female thoughts and female experience (Stern, 1999).

The early stage of research on women focused on the commonalities among women and differences from men (Stern, 1999). Simone de Beauvoir in her book "The Second Sex" (1949) identified women as the "other" sex, automatically considered inferior by male-dominated culture of the patriarchal society. Stereotypical "images of women" were catalogued to support the contention that when the white male establishment studied or portrayed women, the frame of reference was a single universal norm - the male one (De Beauvoir, 1999). In contrast, feminist researchers claimed that a dichotomous model was a more accurate description of reality (Stern, 1999).

Women's voice literature acknowledges the weak presence of women in literature and theorizing and is based on the premise that conceptions of knowledge and truth that are accepted and articulated today have been shaped by the male-dominated majority culture (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). A masculine bias therefore lies at the heart of most academic disciplines, methodologies and theories. By giving voice to difference, such work

expresses the values of the female world and helps to reshape disciplines to include women. From this perspective, as Jansen and Davis (1998) point out, the goal of feminist research is to correct the 'distortions' associated with the female experience.

Much of this work has roots in liberal feminism. This perspective sees gender as an unproblematic category and seeks to promote equality within what are generally seen to be neutral organizational structures (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). However, while early liberal feminism sought to claim equal status and similarity with men, later work, influenced by the radical feminist valorisation of the feminine over the masculine, focused on ways in which women were different from men (Ferguson, 1984). One key impact of radical feminism, therefore, has been through the central place that is now given to difference in considerations of gender (Hatcher, 2003). This influence has contributed to the emphasis by some women's voice literature on female difference as an asset (Rosener, 1990) and has gone some way to challenge the male norm as the benchmark for gender comparisons.

Women's voice literature highlights the absence and neglect of women from organizational and social theorizing and tries to include their experiences and values (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). Against traditionally gender-neutral-ways of understanding organizations and organizational behaviour, gender relations have been presented as a central aspect of the functioning of businesses and workplaces. In an attempt to speak out for women, the women's voice perspective (Ferrario, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Rosener, 1990) has sought to show that women manage, speak, learn or negotiate in a different (but not inferior) way and that they confront different problems from men, as well as counter the same problems in different ways to men.

From a psychological perspective, Gilligan (1982) has addressed the repeated exclusion of women from theory building: "We have listened for centuries to the voices of men and the theories of development that their experiences inform, so we have come more recently to notice not only the silence of women but the difficulty of hearing what they say when they speak ... The failure to see the different reality of women's lives and to hear the difference in their voices stems in part from the assumption that there is a single mode of social expression and interpretation" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 173). Gilligan argues that while men describe themselves using adjectives of separation (e.g. independent, logical, self-reliant), women define themselves in the context of relationships and judge themselves by

standards of duty and care. Relying on men's voices alone has therefore produced a distorted account of human development, which Gilligan seeks to redress by listening to women's accounts of their personal journeys.

However, the difference from men was often interpreted by the researchers as a weakness or a deviation from norm, which is implicitly male (Bruni et al, 2004). Postmodernist feminists (Harding, 1987) explore the power of “invisibility” that accompanies masculine norm. As Collinson and Hearn (1994) suggest, men's universal status and their occupancy of the normative standard state has rendered them invisible as objects of analysis, interrogation or academic theorizing. So invisibility can be seen as a condition of male dominance and masculinity has retained its power as a signifier and as a social practice partly because of its transparency and invisibility (Simpson and Lewis, 2005).

Entrepreneurship research, as well as organisational studies, has not escaped this invisible dominance of masculine standards of behaviour. It seems that women in entrepreneurship research were also many years rendered invisible (Buttner and Moore, 1997). However, the attempts of feminist and women's voice literature to introduce women and gender aspects into social theorizing were not in vain (Greer and Greene, 2003), and in last two decades women were given substantial attention by entrepreneurship research as well. The next sub-section gives a brief overview of the research conducted on female entrepreneurship.

1.3.2. Research into female entrepreneurship

The dramatic worldwide increase in the number of women starting businesses in recent years is reflected in increased research on women and entrepreneurship (Moore, 1990). The importance of gender investigation in the entrepreneurship field is undeniable. The potential contribution of women entrepreneurs to the economies is recognised by such programmes as the Gender Entrepreneurship Markets initiative launched by the International Finance Corporation of World Bank Group in December 2004 (GEM, 2004).

Research into female entrepreneurship began in the mid-1970s in the USA and the mid-1980s in the UK (Carter, 2000), when the number of women entrepreneurs increased notably. The earlier literature on female entrepreneurs was strongly dominated by Anglo-

Saxon and American authors. Since 1990s some research was conducted on European business women and women entrepreneurs in Eastern Europe countries. Research concerned different aspects: motivation (Schwartz, 1976; Scott, 1986; Hisrich and Brush, 1987; Hisrich and O'Brien, 1981; Simpson, 1991); psychological characteristics (Sexton and Bowman, 1986; De Carlo and Lyons, 1979); comparison between female and male entrepreneurs (Birley, 1989; Sexton and Bowman, 1990); women entrepreneurs' personal values (Fagenson, 1993; Olson and Currie, 1992); business strategies (Bird, 1989; Kaplan, 1988); the way women manage their businesses (Hisrich and Brush, 1986; Chaganti, 1986); leadership style (Buttner and Moore, 1997); problems that women entrepreneurs face (Hisrich and Brush, 1984; Hisrich, 1989; Stoner et al, 1990); and the implication of feminist theory for research into women entrepreneurs (Greer and Green, 2003).

While research shows some similarities in the personal demographics of men and women entrepreneurs (Birley, 1989), there are differences in business and industry choices (Smith et al, 1982), financing strategies, growth patterns (Miskin and Rose, 1990), and management (Rosa et al, 1994) of female-owned enterprises. Rosener (1990), for example, has focused on the different ways in which men and women approach leadership. Women are seen to adopt a "transformational" style, based on enabling and empowering, while men prefer a "transactional" approach which associates leadership with direction and control. Similarly, women in management literature (Davidson and Cooper, 1992) has placed women at the centre of analysis and examined the difficulties they face in organizations from work/family conflict and caring responsibilities, from "old boys" networks and from work orientations that are different from men's.

These differences provide compelling reasons to study female entrepreneurship looking specifically at women founders and their entrepreneurial behaviours as a unique subset of entrepreneurship. Observable differences in their enterprises reflect underlying differences in their motivations and goals, preparation, organization, strategic orientation, and access to resources.

Miskin and Rose (1990) argue that the differences between male and female entrepreneurs can be explained by "the traditions of society and the persisting notion that women (more than men) carry the primary responsibilities of the home and family." Simpson (1991) also argues that the differences in behaviour between men and women entrepreneurs can be

explained by different roles in the reproduction process and different needs and possibilities during the life span. Stoner et al. (1990) studied what they called "the work-home role conflict", and found female small business owners to experience significant interference or conflict between work and home roles. This conflict involves a feeling of having neglected the family life and/or the business, e.g. in terms of time or commitment. All these differences fit well within the feminist interpretation of gender differences as the consequences of social and cultural context of male-dominated society.

Women may have less confidence than men in their business ability and are less apt to feel that they can influence the performance of their business (Birley, 1989). After reviewing the literature Birley concluded that: "On only one important factor do males and females appear to differ significantly: self-confidence" (Birley, 1989). Women's lack of self-confidence may be expressed by lower perceptions of entrepreneurial control and abilities. Therefore, by showing the examples of successful women, this research can encourage the confidence among aspiring entrepreneurial women and attract potential women entrepreneurs to starting up businesses.

Influenced by women's voice literature, research in the field of entrepreneurship over the last two decades has moved away from focus on male entrepreneurs as the universal case to the inclusion of women's accounts and experiences (Carter, 2000). Such research has tended to concentrate on the motivations to set up business and specific challenges women face. A number of different studies have reported gender differences in the motivation to become an entrepreneur. Based on a review of empirical findings, Simpson (1991) concluded that the main motivators for women entrepreneurs are the need for independence and challenge. Woman business owners frequently note that they pursue social goals, such as customer satisfaction (Chaganti, 1986), together with economic goals, such as profit and growth, emphasized by male-owned firms (Stevenson and Gumpert, 1985).

However, in spite of the growing numbers of successful female entrepreneurs, they are still seen as a disadvantaged group (Lewis, 2004). Carter (2000) has highlighted the consequences of the exclusion of female entrepreneurs from formal and informal networking and Lewis (2004) has discussed some of the disadvantages, including lack of credibility, associated with the domestically orientated mother/wife "role trap" of the

female entrepreneur. One consequence of negative stereotyping and the visibility associated with minority or “token” status, is the experience of “performance pressure” (Kanter, 1977) and the need for women to prove themselves as “serious” entrepreneurs in the eyes of men (Lewis, 2004).

The dominant discourse of enterprise and entrepreneurialism can, therefore, be seen to be constructed on a valorisation of masculine values (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). These are embodied in conventional male entrepreneurship models which emphasize size, growth and profit, while alternative female ways of organizing based, for example, around stability and work-life balance are devalued and silenced, through negative labelling as “non-serious” business (Lewis, 2004). Simpson and Lewis (2005) argue that “our knowledge of the entrepreneur as embodying qualities of pro-activity, commitment, risk, culturally associated with masculinity, is predicated upon the silences around female qualities of passivity, adaptability and a desire for security”. In this way, an unfair priority of hegemonic masculine entrepreneurship is maintained. Entrepreneurship research has no concern of how women define themselves as entrepreneurs. Usually researchers discuss female entrepreneurs in comparison with men and focus on the advantages and disadvantages that women have against men. It creates the wrong view that women entrepreneurs gain the attention only in comparison to men rather than on their own.

As Bruni et al. (2004) and Lewis (2004) argue, the gender as a variable approach has rendered invisible the masculinity inherent in entrepreneurial activities. When the difference of minority is judged against a normative standard this difference is likely to be highlighted and criticised, while the norm itself, by reason of its transparency, evades scrutiny and is considered as default setting. Accordingly, the behaviour of women involved in entrepreneurial activity is defined and evaluated against the standards of an invisible masculine norm which encompasses the conventional masculine model of a dynamic profit-oriented growth business (Lewis, 2004). This has contributed to the “othering” of the non-male, so that women are marked as “female entrepreneurs” rather than as entrepreneurs per se, where the adjective “female” suggests the inferiority of this group of entrepreneurs and their deviation from norm – male entrepreneurs, where the adjective “male” is omitted as an obvious thing (Lewis, 2004). By making masculinity invisible, the male entrepreneurial model is accordingly universalized and stripped of gender (Simpson and Lewis, 2005).

However, the question whether the gender differences should be underlined or concealed, introduces a dilemma for women entrepreneurs. Simpson and Lewis (2005) argue that “to be visible and to stand out in the crowd is to be seen as different and hence to be isolated and marginalized from the dominant group. When women underline their difference from men, they obtain “token” status”, which force them to behave in ways that conform to stereotypical roles. Examining the implications of 'token' status Kanter (1977) concludes that women suffer the burden of representing their category: they are often forced into a few stereotypical roles (seductress, mother, pet, iron maiden) while at the same time experiencing marginalization and exclusion from the dominant male group. Highlighted gender difference can result in women becoming subject to increased performance pressures while a desire for invisibility can manifest itself in a fear of success, low risk behaviour and/or avoidance of conflict (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). So women find themselves trapped between two dangers: manifesting their gender difference can heighten career barriers, limit career progress and create a hostile environment for the minority female group, while hiding their gender difference means following male behavioural models.

Such an attitude towards female entrepreneurs is stronger in countries with a more patriarchal culture, such as Russia (Sukovataya, 2002). There is evidence to suggest that the gender differences are not the same in different countries (Shane et al., 1991). Shane et al. found out that there were no universal reasons leading to new business formation across gender and national boundaries. Of the 13 possible reasons investigated, 11 were found to be determined by an interaction of gender and nationality.

Mueller, Thomas, and Jaeger (2001) argued that macro-level factors such as culture, economic development, and political history combine to either stimulate or retard entrepreneurial initiative and thereby determine the size of the entrepreneurial segment of a population. National differences in these macro-level factors give rise to differences in entrepreneurial potential. Ultimately, the greater the number of potential entrepreneurs, the more pervasive and widespread are entrepreneurial activities within the country or region (Mueller, Thomas, and Jaeger, 2001). This suggests that cultural context plays an important role in shaping women’s entrepreneurs motivations and strategies of business running and invites to explore female entrepreneurs in Russia – the country, which because

of its recent transition from planned to market economy, differs in many aspects from Western Europe, United Kingdom and United States.

Next sub-section observes the context of entrepreneurship in Russia and discusses the state of research on Russian women entrepreneurs.

1.3.3. Context of entrepreneurship and research women business owners in Russia.

While the phenomenon of entrepreneurship in Russia is not much different from that occurring in other countries, the business activities and environment of Russian entrepreneurs have been strongly influenced by their unique historic heritage, including the legacy of communism (Ageev, Gratchev, and Hisrich, 1995). A broad socio-economic perspective, recognizing historical foundations, cultural influences, and situational factors is required to address entrepreneurial development in Russia.

Russia's entrepreneurial potential stems from vast supplies of natural resources and a well-educated population. Ageev, Gratchev, and Hisrich (1995, p. 375) see Russian entrepreneurship "on the leading edge of radical economic and political transformation of the society that should lead to new business developments, and improved quality of life." The high level of education of Russian women and their active participation in the labour force allow them to be key contributors to this transformation. However, persistence of social stereotypes, imposing the roles of mothers and housewives on women, prevent women from fully realizing their entrepreneurial potential.

Phenomenon of post-soviet entrepreneurship received a substantial attention of researchers. The studies began from 1994. Most of the early studies agree that the majority of the entrepreneurs were male, aged between 30 and 40, with a college or university degree, and were motivated by internal locus of control and need for achievement (Ageev et al, 1995; Shulus, 1996; Green et al, 1996; OECD, 1998).

While researchers agreed on the personal characteristics and motivation that drove entrepreneurship, they identified different groups of entrepreneurs. Kuznetsova (1999) identified three entrepreneurial clusters during the Brezhnev era (1964-1982) and four groups of entrepreneurs during the early stages of reforms. The first cluster comprised of unregistered individuals, who provided services outside and inside the state sector, and included blue-collar workers, engineers, teachers, doctors etc. The second cluster - defined as shadow entrepreneurs - traded with state enterprises, and filled the gaps in distribution generated by the bottlenecks of the planning system. The third cluster comprised of directors of state enterprises that behaved entrepreneurially in an increasingly deficient and complex system (Kuznetsova, 1999). According to Kuznetsova (1999), during the early 1990s, those in the latter category were among the main beneficiaries of privatisation. Another group of entrepreneurs during the early stages of the reform comprised of state and regional party officials, who controlled the conversion of state into private property. More than half of them occupied decision-making positions either in the state or private sector. The third group represented “new wave” entrepreneurs - they were “high-qualified, well-educated specialists who are bored to death with the system ... have a non-standard intellect ... [and] are ready to take reasonable risk” (Kuznetsova 1999:64-65). Shadow businessmen of all types formed the fourth group of Russian entrepreneurs. This typology is identical with the one proposed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1998) and Shulus (1996). Ageev et al. (1995) used the term “new wave” entrepreneurs in a broader sense than other scholars in the field, including all those who search for innovations, and reflect the new economic thinking. They contrasted this group to the “unwilling entrepreneurs”, i.e. those who were forced to take initiatives due to unemployment.

Smallbone and Welter (2001), drawing from the experience of the Ukraine, identified three groupings: the self-employed and part-time business people, “new generation” entrepreneurs and the *nomenclatura* entrepreneurs. Radaev (1994) focused upon the *non-nomenclatura* entrepreneurs in Russia and identified three principal groups: those intermediaries “servicing” large businesses, independent businesses producing for local markets, and individuals who start businesses without establishing their operational legality - such as shuttle traders.

Regarding the dynamics of entrepreneurship in Russia the first years of reforms have seen a remarkable increase in the number of enterprises: at the end of 1980s the number of private enterprises in the Soviet Union did not exceed 40 thousands and in 1994 there was around 900 thousands private enterprises, 80% of them were small businesses (Djankov and Murrel, 2002). However, after 1996 the rise in the numbers of small businesses stopped. From 2001 to 2006 the number of individual entrepreneurs in Russia dropped from 4205 to 2747 thousands (FSSS, 2006). However, the methodology of official statistics does not provide the actual and compatible data about the entrepreneurial potential in Russia (GEM, 2004). This concerns especially the data on women entrepreneurs, as there is no official statistics on participation in entrepreneurship by gender.

Earlier research ignored the phenomenon of female entrepreneurship in Russia despite the growing involvement of females in the process of business enterprise during the latter stages of reform. Women started to enter business after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, but mostly several years later - from 1992-94. At that time this topic attracted some researchers: two profound qualitative studies were conducted by Chirikova (1996, 2002). But then the interest in the topic weakened and after 2000 there have been few studies on Russian women entrepreneurs.

One plausible explanation for the neglect of female entrepreneurship is that the segment of businesses owned by women does not matter at the early stages of transition. This means that the main constraints in the emergence of female entrepreneurs emanate from the magnitude of institutional change and the volatility of the macro-economic setting that are defining post-soviet space as a whole. As a consequence, the influence of the female entrepreneurship is often perceived to be of secondary importance. The absence of national statistics on entrepreneurship by gender also hinders the researchers from approaching this subject.

But the main cause of low interest of the researchers in women entrepreneurs is that now it is not a popular topic in the research community, which is influenced much by the press and political order (Chirikova, 2002). Khotkina (2002) conducted a retrospective survey of the emergence and institutionalization of gender studies as a new line of Russian humanities scholarship and concluded that gender studies is still a relatively "exotic" and

marginal segment of the academic landscape, and the stage of its adoption into the curricula of Russian colleges and universities is not complete.

One quantitative study conducted by western researchers on Russian female entrepreneurs (Wells et al, 2003), reports on their background, marital status, age, type of ownership, time in business, form of company, number of employers, industry distribution, business goals, innovative strategies, source of capital and problems they face. Another quantitative study conducted by Babaeva and Chirikova (1996) reports on the problems of Russian women entrepreneurs.

There is a lack of qualitative studies, which addresses personal characteristics, motivations and business strategies of Russian female entrepreneurs. The only two comprehensive qualitative studies were conducted by Chirikova in 1996 and 2002, which report on personal characteristics of Russian women entrepreneurs; their motives for starting-up businesses; female management style and its difference from the management style of men; barriers for the development of female entrepreneurship in Russia; cooperation of women entrepreneurs with regional authorities; the views of female leaders on the discrimination of female businesses.

The limited research into Russian female entrepreneurship is further distorted by the number of populist myths about women trying to pursue entrepreneurial career (Sukovataya, 2002). These myths persuade the society, women themselves included, that business is not an appropriate occupation for them for a long list of reasons, including its aggressive nature, incompatibility with the role of mother and wife, suppression of femininity, lack of entrepreneurial qualities in women. This leads to erroneous representation of Russian women entrepreneurs in public opinion (Stephen, 2006). Kozlova (2002) believes that feminism and gender studies have made a substantial contribution to changes in views of society, but still the most acute problems in Russian society cannot be solved because of the persistence of patriarchal methods (Kozlova, 2002).

1.4. Reasons for choosing the topic

There are several reasons for choosing this topic. Some of them have been mentioned in the previous section. They are:

- the women's contribution to the economy as entrepreneurs (GEM, 2004);
- especially important role of women entrepreneurs in transition economies (Aidis et al, 2005);
- shortage of qualitative research on female entrepreneurs in Russia (Kozlova, 2002);
- differences between male and female entrepreneurs and potential advantages women entrepreneurs have in managing their businesses (Simpson and Lewis, 2005; Chirikova, 2002)

This section will focus on another reason for choosing the topic which is the potential contribution of the research to existing theory of entrepreneurship.

This research brings together three important areas of knowledge: gender studies, entrepreneurship theory and the rise of entrepreneurship in transition economies. The boundary zones between these three areas or the zones of intersection of different streams of thought contain certain gaps and, therefore, provide inspiration for researcher's inquiry.

The gap on the intersection of gender studies and entrepreneurship theory has its origin in the invisible masculinity of entrepreneurship research, discussed earlier. The fact that gender issues were neglected in the attempts to develop a definition of an entrepreneur provided two considerations for this research. First, female entrepreneurs should be regarded from a different perspective and their entrepreneurial performance should not be judged by the same criteria as male entrepreneurs. These criteria could be suggested by the women themselves (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). Second consideration based on observation of gender differences in entrepreneurs suggests that the strategies of success used by male and female entrepreneurs would be different. Pletneva (2008) suggests that women should not compete with men using men's strategies, but should use women's soft power and ruse to be competitive. However, this thesis does not aim to compare women entrepreneurs with their male colleagues and to emphasize differences in their approaches

to business. Instead this work aims to raise women's voices and to highlight the distinctive way women manage their enterprises in the very fact of doing it.

The gap on the intersection of entrepreneurship theory and research of entrepreneurship in transition economy embraces the influence of Russian cultural and institutional context on the personality of an entrepreneur, gender differences in entrepreneurial qualities, motives of starting up businesses and business strategies. As this context keeps changing, the effects it has on Russian female entrepreneurs are contradictory. Restructuring of the Russian society and the birth of new elites makes it difficult to talk about one national cultural context, rather than different sub-cultural context of different social groups (Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003). This observation suggests that apart from national cultural context, we need to look at the narrow social environment of Russian women entrepreneurs – their background, education, parents, previous work experience, social networks – all these factors having an effect on their personality, life style and choice of entrepreneurship as occupation.

The gap on the intersection of gender studies and entrepreneurship research in transition economies gave rise to numerous myths concerning female entrepreneurs in Russia. These myths hinder the formation of a positive image of business women and provoke intolerance of society towards business women (Sukovataya, 2002). This gives rationale to explore individual life stories of Russian women entrepreneurs as it can help to construct feminine models of success and to question the myths about female entrepreneurship which impede women from developing their entrepreneurial potential. In this way this research can contribute to liberation of women from gender stereotypes and expand their opportunities for self-actualization (Chirikova, 2002).

1.5. Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into eight chapters, which are arranged in two parts. First part is devoted to introduction to the research, literature review and methodology. It comprises 4 chapters.

Chapter 1 opens with research aims and objectives, outlines the context of research, states reasons for choosing a topic and concludes with description of thesis structure.

Chapter 2 and 3 represent the literature review. Chapter 2 is devoted to the context of entrepreneurship, and notable female entrepreneurship in Russia. Chapter 3 is devoted to the theories of entrepreneurship and motivation.

Chapter 2 observes the development of entrepreneurship in Russia since 1991. It gives an overview of the special historical and economic conditions of Russia, which influenced the position of women in Russian society, describes the origin of entrepreneurship in Russia and focuses on Russian female entrepreneur, discussing their motives, personal traits and problems. It concludes with the description of Russian business environment and its attitude towards female businesses.

Chapter 3 looks at the literature which discusses the motivation of entrepreneurs and motivation of female entrepreneurs in particular. The first part of the chapter gives an overview of historical development of research on female entrepreneurs, focusing on motivational aspects, and concludes with defining of three perspectives from which women entrepreneurs' motivation can be regarded. The second part of chapter 3 identifies four theories which relate to the aspects of motivation identified in the first part and can be applied to analyse women's motivations and factors of successful entrepreneurial performance. It then discusses these four theories in details.

Chapter 4 is divided into two parts, which are devoted to methodology. The first part details the choice of methodology, starting with the discussion of research paradigm, following the justification of the choice of research approach and method of data collection. The second part describe the data collection process, outlines the guideline for interviews structure, discusses the role of researcher combined with the role of the interviewer in the data collection process, and discloses the data analysis technique.

Second part of the thesis is devoted to presentation of research findings and analysis of collected data, comparison of these findings with the existing body of research and conclusions.

Chapter 5 focuses on the women's personality. The first part of the chapter describes the women's background with regards to their up-bringing, education and work experience. The second part of chapter 5 discusses personal psychological traits of women entrepreneurs as perceived by the women themselves, including a number of aspects relating to the women's character, skills, values, merits and demerits. The theoretical discussion section of chapter 5 focuses on the theory of human capital and the trait approach, and theoretical implications that emerge from the data analysis on personal qualities and personal traits.

Chapter 6 focuses on the women's motivation to start and manage their businesses. The first part of the chapter is devoted to the circumstances of the start-up and describes the scenarios of how the women got into business and those aspects, which differ from one story to another. It gives a number of push and pull factors that influenced the decision of the women to start-up a business. The second part of chapter 6 discusses psychological intrinsic motives or needs which drove the women to their entrepreneurial activities. The discussion section of chapter 6 reflects on the application of motivation and institutional theories for understanding the behaviour of the women entrepreneurs.

Chapter 7 focuses on entrepreneurial success. The first part of the chapter describes how the women entrepreneurs perceive success, specifying different measures of success. The second part of chapter 7 analyses the strategies the women use to achieve success and the factors that influence their entrepreneurial performance. The discussion section of the chapter concludes with the application of expectancy theory, institutional theory and social capital theory for the analysis of success factors.

Chapter 8 "Conclusions" recall of the research aims and objectives, draws the main conclusions from empirical findings and the contributions to knowledge these empirical findings produced, discusses the limitations of this research and proposes recommendations for the future research.

CHAPTER 2. THE CONTEXT OF FEMALE ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN RUSSIA

Introduction

The context of entrepreneurship in Russia, particularly on women business owner-managers, is the focus of this chapter. The chapter aims to discuss the role of women in Russian society and the development of female entrepreneurship. To this end, the researcher outlines the historical background and how it set the scene for women to engage in entrepreneurship.

The importance of the cultural, historical and socio-economic background and its effect on the potential for entrepreneurship has been well recognised (Mueller and Thomas, 2001). Moreover, it is acknowledged that the historical and cultural context defines the way people regard the place of women in society, thereby influencing women entrepreneurs' self-perception and their behaviour by imposing certain visible and invisible rules of social etiquette. The question is: to which extent any distinctive characteristics of women-owned businesses can be attributed to gender-related factors, such as the position of women in the economy and society, as opposed to the special conditions of the business environment resulting from the transition (Welter et al, 2003). It means that when researching female entrepreneurship in transition countries it is important to recognize the differing cultural and historical background of these countries.

In any new market economy, the emergence of a small and medium enterprise sector, together with the conditions supporting new business, constitutes key elements, and entrepreneurs or business owners are essential actors, in any new market economy (Stewart, et al., 1999). Neace (1999) notes that: "Long-term success in economic development, particularly in developing economies, depends to a significant degree on a growing network of small entrepreneurial enterprises . . . and human capital in the person of an entrepreneur" (Neace, 1999, p.149). Their contribution is not just economic, as Neace also stresses the role of entrepreneurs as agents for creating social capital in emerging economies.

The chapter is structured as follows: it starts with a brief observation of the historical context, followed by an overview of the rise of female entrepreneurship in Russia since 1991. The first section of the chapter discusses the historical, legal and cultural context of Russia and its effect on the position of Russian women in employment and social life. It distinguishes four historical periods: the tsarist period – from 19th century till the revolution of 1917; the Soviet period, post revolution; the transition period, starting with Gorbachev's perestroika from 1987 to 2000; and the modern period from 2000 to 2007.

The second section gives an overview of female entrepreneurship in Russia, commencing with a discussion about its roots. This is then followed with some statistical data, summarising the numbers of women in small businesses and their activity according to industry sector. The section also discusses the women's personal characteristics and motives, concluding with some examples of popular myths about women entrepreneurs. The latter illustrate Russian society's perceptions of female entrepreneurs as reflected in broadcast media and filmmaking, as well as everyday home or workplace conversations.

The final section draws some conclusions, summarising the problems and prospects of female entrepreneurship in Russia.

2.1. Historical background

2.1.1. The Tsarist period (from 19th century till 1917)

Patriarchal traditions in Russian society were very strong during the Tsarist period – even though it cannot be overlooked that Russia was occasionally ruled by powerful, independent-minded women who broke with conventional rules about women submitting to men. The two most striking examples were Peter the Great's daughter, Elizabeth, and her niece-in-law, Catherine the Great, who ruled for 21 and 36 years, respectively, covering the years from 1741 to 1796 between them, and indelibly leaving their mark on nineteenth century views of women in Russia (Troyat, 1980).

The laws of Imperial Russia did not hinder women from owning, administering, inheriting or bequeathing whatever property they came into through lawful means. Even serfs, and serf-women, before the Emancipation Reform, were allowed to accumulate property in the form of money or possessions during the times while they were themselves yet bound to the land owned by the gentry or nobility. The female-directed enterprises of pre-revolutionary Russia included boarding-houses, inns, taverns, and houses of ill repute (Roosevelt, 1995).

In 1861, when Alexander II enacted the Emancipation Reform which abolished serfdom, many more Russians, including Russian women from the peasant classes, so long as they could attain some education, found that they could earn a decent living in the city plying a trade or marketing their skills. Initially, the law allowed women to work in public and government organizations only in secretarial positions: as typists, stenographers, typesetters or bookbinders. They were also permitted to work as midwives, pharmacists, telephonists, doctors, shop clerks. However, women in trade were often judged harshly by many members of a society, which saw economic activity by women, and even the proximity of unrelated women and men in public places, as undermining moral principles (Riasanovsky, 2000).

During the Tsarist period, it can be argued that the official prevailing policy towards women as employees or entrepreneurs was one of resistance, discomfort and concern

amounting to a general discrimination against them. The prevailing attitude held that a woman's single most important function was to give birth to offspring, that motherhood was her supreme role, biologically determined for her by God – the ultimate authority in Tsarist Russia. The pursuit of riches and social standing was seen, all but exclusively, as the domain of males. The legislation of the time precluded women holding government offices, seeking political appointments, engaging in economic management or professional occupations such as the law, architecture, engineering (Tonchu, 1998).

Academia was one notable exception: the first President of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the first woman to head an Academy of Sciences anywhere, was Catherine Vorontsova-Dashkova, from 1784 (Troyat, 1980). Perhaps because of such examples, even in Tsarist times, there were some extraordinary women whom nothing could stop from displaying entrepreneurial talent. There were women, mainly from the aristocratic class, who proved themselves especially bright in the field of education and culture. They organized brilliant literary and musical salons, published journals, participated in literary and public activities. Sometimes they even headed industrial enterprises following their husband's, father's or brother's death, taking it upon themselves to continue the business affairs of their loved ones. Women worked in different trading institutions, and sometimes opened their own shops. They opened kindergartens and lithographs, organized charity societies for poor women and orphans (Tonchu, 1998).

Economic conditions forced women from the lower classes to search for work that could provide them with an independent income. The majority of women who sought or needed their own earnings were engaged in cottage industries or work from home that involved, for example, traditionally female skills such as needlework (Tonchu, 1998). As with other European societies of the time, women of all ages were able to earn an independent wage in a variety of career positions, as nannies and governesses, as wet-nurses or attendants for the infirm, as cooks or laundresses as well as the considerably more powerful *ekonomki* and *klyuchnitsy*– fully vested housekeepers-in-chief, with powers to hire and fire staff, with complete control over coffers, assets, storerooms and accounts (Oldenburg, 1991).

2.1.2. Soviet period (1917-1991)

The Revolution of 1917, which wanted to destroy everything old, attempted to abolish the patriarchal traditions. During the first years of Soviet power there was a boom in policies and practices asserting the complete equality of men and women (Ziryanov, 1994). Through the entire Soviet period, the principle of gender equality was the ideological and legal norm. But it was economics, as much as ideology, that drove this policy.

The economic driver was that the building the Socialist system required the mobilization of women because additional labour was needed. Women's labour was essential to carrying out industrialization and collectivisation: cornerstones of Soviet policy. Moreover, women were needed to replace all those men who had been lost or perished as a result of the Revolution, Civil war and two World Wars. Women were, therefore, encouraged to break away from their traditional gender roles and bridge the gender segregation that existed in the labour force previously.

The ideological reason for co-opting women is rooted in Marxist communist ideology, which abhors any kind of inequality between people. According to Soviet ideology women were supposed to have equal rights with men and to be actively participating in the construction of a socialist state (Sukovataya, 2002). Marxist feminists (Greer and Green, 2003), who protested against the disadvantaged economic position of women compared to men, called for the sharing of housework and child care with men, along with full and equal rights for women to participate in the labour force.

By passing laws that protected female work and motherhood, the Soviet government was able to pursue their Communist goals. The state encouraged women's equal participation in the labour force by creating an infrastructure which enabled women to combine work with family and domestic responsibilities. Many day nurseries, kindergartens and summer camps for young children were created (Sukovataya, 2002). The campaign to promote literacy, aimed at women and men equally, allowed women to become a notable part of the workforce and enabled them to occupy a greater place in the labour market (Ziryanov, 1994). Authorities guaranteed the right to equal pay for equal work, maintained a relatively

high minimum wage, generous maternity leave and day care benefits. There were official trade unions that defended the rights of workers (Brainerd, 2000).

When the state could not use economical stimuli it used ideology, popularizing the image of a woman on equal terms with men doing the same jobs as them. This image was epitomised in Pasha Angelina – the first woman shown driving a tractor. During the Second World War the image of a woman as a “companion-in-arms” of men in the struggle for the “bright future of Communism” became a symbol of the Soviet Union (Barsukova, 2001).

However, with the advancement of science the image of a woman on the tractor lost its appeal. A new image of the working woman was needed – an image that symbolised not just the involvement of women in production on equal terms with men, but also their involvement in scientific and high-technology professions. This image was embodied in Tereshkova – the first woman in space. Her example encouraged women to enter universities, gave them hope that technical progress would improve their quality of life and filled them with pride for their country. It was very important for the State to use such ideological stimuli in the absence of material ones (Barsukova, 2001).

A more active participation of women in social and economic activities accompanied by the promotion of an egalitarian ideology resulted in a certain feminization of education. The number of female students increased during the post-war period. The increase in the number of women with higher education influenced perceptions of male and female roles. Not only did the number of women gaining higher education rise, but the type of subjects studied by women changed also, with many women studying technology and science. During the Cold War with the West, the Soviet Union had to develop technology and science in order to compete with Western countries and used all available human resources, including women, for the advancement of Soviet industry and science (Barsukova, 2001).

Although the Soviet Union boasted full employment and a high percentage of women in the labour force, the level of emancipation achieved by Soviet women was exaggerated. During the Soviet period men occupied leading positions in politics, economy and society. There were no women in the Politburo. Women were the last to be hired and first to be fired. Even in industries with a high percentage of female employment, such as light

industry, food processing industry, teaching and medicine, men were usually in supervisory and decision-making positions while women had “auxiliary roles” or supporting roles. Women earned less than men: in 1989 the ratio of average female to male monthly wages in the Russian republic was 69% (Brainerd, 2000). However, it was due to the fact that women worked fewer hours than men rather than due to discrimination. The occupational and industrial distribution of female employment also added to this. Women tended to be employed in such areas as health and education, retail trade and semi-skilled professional occupations, where wages were lower. Women were not denied access to the typically male professions of doctors, engineers or even machine-tool operators and labourers (Sukovataya, 2002). Women did also take roles within the Soviet political and bureaucratic system, but rarely did they have much responsibility or voice (Wells et al, 2003).

Although Soviet women were not given much chance to be in leading management, there were, however, some exceptional examples of women directors. Even so, women directors were often socially penalised for taking leading managerial positions. That was poignantly depicted in the cult film “*Moskva slezam ne verit*” (“Moscow does not believe in tears”, Menshov and Chernih, 1979). In this film a woman promoted to director of a big enterprise suffers considerably in her private life as a consequence of her position. In the story, the women director falls in love with a man, whose professional and work status is inferior. The man finds this hard and struggles with the notion of his lover having a higher social status.

The persistence of Russia’s patriarchal traditions could be seen in the time of retrenchment when the state had a sufficient supply of labour force. So it was that when economic crisis took hold in the latter years of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev called upon women to return to their rightful place as wives and mothers and to voluntarily give up their jobs to men. Old attitudes, masked under Soviet rule, resurfaced. In 1986, approximately 700 of 5 000 job designations were still closed to women (Wells et al, 2003).

Inevitably, it seems that the promotion of gender equality by the Soviet state was hypocrisy, as it served to fulfil the economic needs of the country. When those urgent needs were satisfied a mentality deeply rooted in patriarchal values started to take over again, displacing insincere egalitarianism. So the heritage of the Soviet legacy left for

women was mixed, ambiguous and contradictory. On the one hand Russian women were highly educated, had a long-term presence in the labour market, and possessed practical knowledge and attributes such as flexibility, perseverance, and resourcefulness that could translate into business skills. On the other hand living in the illusion of guaranteed equality and state protection they had never been taught to defend themselves, to reclaim their rights and to be autonomous.

2.1.3 The Transition period (1991 – 2000)

The transition to a market economy brought rising prices, increasing unemployment, growing poverty, declining living standards and intense psychological turmoil (Wells et al, 2003). Privatization of the economy and the demise of the Soviet state can be argued to be mainly responsible for the broad downgrading of the economic status of women in Post-Communist Russia (Izyumov and Razumnova, 2000). The removal of the regulations imposed top-down by the Soviet state revived patriarchal attitudes.

Typical reforms during the transition included wage and price liberalization, trade liberalization, privatization of state-owned enterprises, tax and legal reforms. The central wage-setting system was abandoned and replaced by the decentralized informal plant-level negotiations (Brainerd, 2000). The trade unions lost their influence over employers and could not provide the protection for them either. After the collapse of Soviet Union the distribution of jobs passed from the state to private employers (Izyumov and Rasumnova, 2000). The safety nets of the old system were dismantled and many benefits, such as crèche facilities, medical benefits, and maternity leave, previously offered by the state, and notably women, began to disappear. The breakdown of state control over enterprises enabled employers to discriminate against women more openly. Women were increasingly viewed as expensive and unreliable employees and were frequently the first to be laid off (Wells et al, 2003).

All these factors resulted in higher rates of unemployment among women (Wells et al, 2003). In 1992, their total number among the officially registered unemployed increased from 43 to 417 thousands. Throughout the 1990s the women's share of the officially unemployed was approximately two-thirds, fluctuating between 63% and 73% of the total

(Wells et al, 2003). The true extent of unemployment in Russia is much higher than the official numbers indicate due to widespread compulsory part-time employment, forced early retirement, and other factors. The main particular feature of female unemployment was the high level of education among women (Tonchu, 1998).

The system of social security that could provide support for the unemployed had been destroyed. Unemployment along with rampant inflation led to a slump in the total income earned by the family. So the needs of women as well as of men to earn additional income grew. In such conditions starting and running a business or becoming self-employed becomes one of the few possibilities left for women to overcome the increasing discrimination experienced by them in the labour market during the transition period, and to contribute to the alleviation of poverty (Wells et al, 2003).

2.1.4 Modern period (2000 -2007)

In 2007 women made up 49% of working population in Russia (FSSS, 2007a). However, women constitute 63.3 % of registered unemployed people (FSSS, 2007b). The average wage of Russian women in 2005 was 39% lower than the average wage of Russian men (Trofimova, 2007). The share of women whose wages are lower than the cost of living is 71.5 % compared to 28.5 % of men. The number of women in high-paid jobs (more than 25 000 roubles per month) is only 25.2% (Trofimova, 2007). Women are still concentrated in low-paid jobs, typically in such sectors as public health, education and social services, except for those who work in finance (Trofimova, 2007). The share of women employed in different sectors of economics is shown in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1. Share of women employed in the sectors of economy dominated by women

Sector	Share of women in 2007	Share of women in 2000
Education	80.8	79
Public health and social services	80.3	82.4
Hotels and restaurants	79.6	83.9
Consumer services	70.2	52
Finance	68.7	65.1
Trade	60.8	59.6

Source: FSSS, 2007c

Table 2.1 illustrates that there has been little change in Russian women leaving these lower paid sector jobs. Trofimova (2007) attributes the inequality of wage levels owing to women being over-represented in low-paid sector jobs to employers' bias against women that is based on women being child-bearers and taking principal responsibility for child care. However, she argues that this situation cannot be called discrimination, as discrimination implies paying different wages for the same work. Nevertheless, there is a "gender skew" in Russia (Trofimova, 2007, p.2) that is caused by women and men having different access to high-paid jobs.

A positive change consists in the rising number of women's organizations, which deal with different women's issues, including motherhood, the disintegration of the family as an institution, unemployment, domestic violence against women, under-representation of women in politics, participation of women in public life and gender education (Polonskaya, 2008). The Second All-Russian Women's Congress was held in Moscow in November 2008, 100 years after the First Congress. It united women politicians, activists and experts from different spheres, and as a result created the Clearinghouse Committee for all Women's Organizations in Russia (2nd All-Russian Women's Congress, 2008).

2.2. Female entrepreneurship in post-Soviet Russia

The first government act mentioning small business entrepreneurship in a positive sense, in post-Soviet Russia, came in 1991. Actual statutes regulating the development of small businesses and their relations with the state passed only in 1995. Statistics on small start-ups in Russia indicate that in the 1995-1999 this sector of the economy actually stagnated: the number of SMEs remained flat, fluctuating between 850-900 thousand registered firms; there was almost no increase in the number of employees: 8.5 million (Chepurenko and Obydyonnova, 1999). Moreover, the financial crisis of August 1998 and the ensuing economic problems shrank small business payrolls: in 1998, the number of SME employees fell by 14% (to 7.4 million); of these, permanent positions fell by 5% (6.2 million). The rate of growth of new SMEs decreased notably: from 2.5 % in 1997, to 0.8 % in 1998; in some sectors, the number of registered SMEs dropped in absolute terms: in science by 1.6 %, in construction by 3.2 % (Chepurenko and Obydyonnova, 1999).

At the beginning of the transition (*perestroika* dates from 1986), the motivation for women to start their own business was family income need. Women worked on individual garden-plots, growing produce for small street vending and for their own private domestic consumption. Women were also active in clothes-making and needlework cottage industries. These did not require much capital investment, were not high-yield and did not grow very large. But some women still progressed beyond small-scale production to build lasting small companies (Babaeva and Chirikova, 1996).

Modern Russian women first emerged as entrepreneurs in 1991. The overwhelming majority joined the ranks of informal sole-trader businesses in activities such as retail sales, shuttle trading and home-based work (nursing care, sewing, repair, cleaning, day-care, tutoring) (Izyumov and Razumnova, 2000). The second type of business derived from the privatisation of state enterprises where women had been holding top management positions, notably in the service sector, catering, food and textile industries. By 1996, of the 12 million people in Russia engaged in small business operations of various kinds, both informal and registered, an estimated 35% were women (Babaeva, 1998).

2.2.1. Statistical data about Russian women entrepreneurs

Official Russian statistics do not offer details on women entrepreneurs (FSSS, 2009). The only information given is the distribution of the working population: employed (employees) vs. unemployed (non-employees). Among the unemployed, several groups are listed:

- Employers
- Members of cooperatives
- Self-employed
- Members of family enterprises

The number of employers and self-employed can be used to approximate the number of women entrepreneurs. However no official information shows the distribution of women entrepreneurs by industry or the number of employees and sales volumes.

The major part of the information, therefore, comes from surveys. One of them was conducted in 1995-1996 by representatives of the National Foundation for Women Business Owners (NFWBO), the Ural Women's Association (UWA), and other member organizations of the Confederation of Businesswomen of Russia (CBWR). Another study, led by Babaeva and Chirikova (1996) was based on a gender analysis of secondary data concerning the problems of small businesses, gathered by the Institute of the Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The study that followed this survey was a qualitative study by Chirikova (1998) based on 65 in-depth interviews with successful women entrepreneurs from five Russian regions and Moscow, which focused on: female management style and how it differed from the management style of men; particular features of female entrepreneurs in the regions; barriers impeding the development of female entrepreneurship in Russia; the collaboration of women entrepreneurs with regional authorities. One of the latest studies concerning women entrepreneurs in Russia by Chirikova (2002) obtained views from female managers about discrimination experienced by female-led businesses. Subsequent studies, based either on the data from these earlier studies or omitting clearly cited sources, tended to reiterate earlier data, adding nothing new.

Women’s businesses still lag behind their male rivals’ by sales, revenue and employee number indices, most likely because women usually own businesses in relatively low-revenue, low-labour-intensity industries. The small size of female enterprises is due also to their restricted access to capital, a worldwide phenomenon. Moreover, women prefer to allow more time for themselves and their family, rather than pursue high profits and growth (Babaeva and Chirikova, 1996). These and other factors predetermine the small size of women-owned businesses, causing concentrations of women entrepreneurs in particular sectors, as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Share of female leaders of companies in different sectors

Sector	Share of female leaders (%)
Arts and culture	72
Health services	71
Education	70
Catering	60
Housing and communal services	54
Tourism and hotels	45
Media and advertising	44
Wholesale and retail merchants	44
Finance, banking and insurance	44
Science	38
Communications	34
Legal services	32
Agriculture	31
Industry	24
Transport	18
Construction	18

Source: Vorobyeva, 2008, p. 15

The latest data (Gorbulina, 2006) indicate that the share of women entrepreneurs in Russia amounts to almost 40% of the total. Other sources (Vorobyeva, 2008) assert that women make up 80% of small-business leaders. In 2007, 6.6 % of women were self-employed,

with 1.1 % being employers, compared to 8% and 1.7 % of men, respectively (FSSS, 2007d). According to the Vice-President of the Trade and Industry Committee, Russia women today own 40% of all small and medium-sized businesses. Women employ a quarter of Russia's labour force. The rate of growth of women-owned business is 1.7 higher than the same rate in male-owned firms (Pletneva, 2008).

However, Gorbulina (2006) states that because of the paucity of statistics on this subject in Russia, it is impossible to specify the number of operating enterprises or industrial corporations managed by women.

2.2.2. Personal characteristics, personal traits and motivation.

The average age of a Russian businesswoman is 41.65 % were listed as married, 24% divorced or separated, 3% widowed, and 8% never married (Chirikova, 1998). One of the particular features of Russian women entrepreneurs is that they are highly educated, with 80% having attained a university degree (Babaeva, 1998). Areas of high education disciplines varied widely, as shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Education of Russian women entrepreneurs, by specialty

Academic discipline	Percentage of women entrepreneurs
Humanities and fine arts	30%
Engineering	27%
Finance and economics	15%
Science	13%
Business	5%
Medicine	4%
Law	3%
Other	3%

Source: Chirikova, 1998, p. 45

Babaeva and Chirikova (1996) write that Russian women are more cautious and risk-averse in business than men. Women who open their own business tended to use their own

savings rather than take a loan. Their companies tend to be small as a result (Babaeva, 1998). Svarovsky (2002) expressed the opinion that women try to avoid risk because of their heightened sense of responsibility for their children and family (Svarovsky, 2002). Female entrepreneurs themselves agree that they lack decisiveness (Chirikova, 2002). However, this attitude seems to be changing. In 2004 18.8 % of girls and 18.2 % of boys aged 16 to 19 believe they can create their own company (Svarovsky, 2002).

According to the study of Chirikova and Krichevskaya (1996) the main goals held by women entrepreneurs were:

- A happy family life (65% of women);
- Health (55%);
- Wealth (50%);
- Interesting work (40%);
- An active and energetic life (20%);
- Self-reliance (20%);
- Love (15%).

Chirikova and Krichevskaya's (1996) research seems to indicate that women put personal values before professional values. When choosing between the family and business, 80% of women said that they are equally important; 20% said that the family comes first (Chirikova and Krichevskaya, 1996). The importance of family values is confirmed by a high percentage of married women among Russian women entrepreneurs (Pletneva, 2008).

Russian female entrepreneurs are quite self-reliant (Babaeva, 1998). Among the qualities that contribute to the success of women entrepreneurs, the women in Chirikova and Krichevskaya's sample named networking skills, social negotiating and consensus-building skills, interpersonal communication; empathy and altruism; honesty and responsibility; perseverance and commitment to goals; a desire for learning; instincts and intuition; communication skills; resilience; luck, business acumen and intelligence. Many researchers (Chirikova, 2002; Pletneva, 2008) argue that the main advantage of women in business, especially in the service sector, is their ability to nurture, which translates into concern for their clients and employees. However, this quality has a downside: 75% of the women named excessive kindness as being a personal quality impeding effective

management. Other inhibitors included lack of punctuality, excessive emotionalism and unwarranted trustfulness (Chirikova and Krichevskaya, 1996).

Female entrepreneurs usually have a strong appreciation for business ethics (Babaeva, 1998). Women entrepreneurs possess high social responsibility, which tends to result in more democratic, compassionate management. The leadership style of Russian businesswomen complies with the distinctive feminine style of management described by Western researchers such as Rosener (1990). This non-traditional style of management shows better correlation with the changing conditions of Russian firms' activity. Russian researchers (Chirikova, 1998) believe that this style contributes to the shift towards the "new management paradigm". This paradigm leads away from strict rationality towards greater flexibility towards a changing environment, also from coercive management towards charismatic, informal leadership (Pletneva, 2008).

Babaeva and Chirikova (1996) distinguish three types of female entrepreneurs according to their motivation. The first group is called "intentional" entrepreneurs: those women who came into business because they had an internal desire to become an entrepreneur and genuine interest in a profession. The most important driving factor for this group is the self-realisation and the need to achieve, to excel.

The second group could be defined as "opportunistic" entrepreneurs. They came into entrepreneurship by chance, because of existing circumstances. They may have followed friends' advice or support, or found themselves in favourable conditions for starting-up a business. Their decision to become an entrepreneur arises in their environment.

The third group is classified as "forced" or "needs-based" entrepreneurs. These are women who were driven by adverse conditions to become entrepreneurs, whether by unemployment, an untenable job situation or income needs. This type of motivation was especially typical of women who entered business during the early transition period.

Most of Russian women entrepreneurs in Babaeva and Chirikova's sample could be classified as either opportunistic or needs-based entrepreneurs; few were intentional entrepreneurs. For 80% of the women in the sample, their choice of entrepreneurial route was driven more by external circumstances rather than their own desire. Business as a

means of gaining maximum profit was the main driving force only for 20% of respondents (Babaeva and Chirikova, 1996).

According to Chirikova (1998) women reflecting on why they became an entrepreneur put this down either to “fate” or circumstances. For example, a situation developed requiring them to start or take over a business. Or a group of colleagues faced a threat to their livelihood, if they did not act. They stepped into the breach to help everyone. The decision to become an entrepreneur was thus often forced. Sometimes women who had lost their job started their own businesses of the same kind because they loved their profession and were good at it.

Although the initial reasons for starting-up a business were more often external than internal, women reflecting on the motivation which drove them to develop their companies further spoke of inner motives (Babaeva and Chirikova, 1996). The most often cited motives for Russian female entrepreneurs appear in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Motives of Russian women entrepreneurs

Motive	Internal / External	Percentage of respondents citing this motive
Self-realisation	Internal	40%
Personal interest	Internal	35%
Material stability and money	External	30%
Concern for others	External	25%
Professional improvement and promotion	External	20%
Self-assertion	Internal	15%

Source: Babaeva and Chirikova, 1996, p. 78

Chirikova (1998, 2002) observed that women’s motivation seemed to be more “changeable” than men’s as it tended to alter under the influence of certain factors: the woman’s position within the firm; staff; a financial situation; her perception of her goals; the number of years that she had been in business; her age. The longer the woman had been in business the more she tended to be concerned with enhancing, growing and developing the business and improving professional competence (Chirikova, 2002).

More recent research (Vorobyeva, 2008) indicates similar motives driving women entrepreneurs: interest in the job (36% of women), self-realisation (30%), raising personal living standards (21%), raising the living standards of fellow citizens (17%), career ambitions (15%).

2.2.3. The Business environment

Institutional and legal contexts play a special role for entrepreneurship under transition conditions (Aidis et al, 2005). A 1997 survey of Russian female entrepreneurs by the NFWBO (1995) report highlighted the key problems faced by women entrepreneurs in Russia, summarised in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5. Problems encountered by women entrepreneurs in Russia

Problem	Percentage of women who mentioned the problem
Tax policy	90%
Incompleteness and frequent rewriting of business laws	81%
Access to credit	67%
Unstable banks	66%
Government corruption	55%
Racketeering	39%

Source: NFWBO (1995)

Based on this data several contextual factors that affect the entrepreneurial potential of women were identified and included:

- the level of economic development in Russia under the new system;
- legislation;
- banking system;
- the pervasiveness of corruption
- organised crime penetration of business;
- cultural influences.

Market insufficiency and economic instability caused general uncertainty in every sphere of business (Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003). Weak institutions and the need to reframe laws, which takes time and expertise, led to a shortage of capital, high transaction and start-up costs. Direct assistance programmes and venture capitalists were scarce; a combination of state regulations and banking policies placed credit out of reach for small and medium-size enterprises (Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003). Having dismantled banks in 1917, it would take post-Soviet Russia time and effort to re-grow normal, healthy financial institutions. In the interim, small businesses struggled with restricted access to bank capital because of the instability and high risks of the financial markets (Aidis et al, 2005). For 92 % of Russian respondents, capital availability was problematic (NFWBO, 2002). The limited access to financial resources was aggravated by the discriminative attitude of bankers towards women entrepreneurs. However, sometimes women preferred not to take credits because they were reluctant to increase their risks (Chirikova, 1998).

Tax legislation was seen as a serious difficulty by the majority of the women entrepreneurs because of its ambiguity, instability and a high tax burden (Aisis et al, 2005). Frequent changes in tax legislation rendered it difficult for entrepreneurs to keep up to date and to understand what they needed to do. The introduction of new legislation involved the cost of compliance, as it distracted women entrepreneurs from business activities, diverting resources from more productive activities.

A special difficulty for women entrepreneurs in Russia was the juridical registration of business, which was a long process, badly organized and often involved bribing (Radaev, 1997). In the latter years this process was improved thanks to the appearance of numerous law firms which helped start-up firms to go through the tedious process of registration more quickly (Chirikova, 2002). However, the registration process is still rather time-consuming because companies must be registered with several authorities: the average time necessary for the registration of a branch or a representative office is approximately five weeks from the date of filing the necessary documents with the accreditation body (Federal Tax Service, 2009).

Women entrepreneurs are often excluded from male business networks, as most of them are informal and involve male activities: “There is a certain loneliness to being a woman in charge of a big enterprise here. Being the boss means men finally take you seriously, but

there are other obstacles, not least the tradition among some male business leaders of holding meetings in steamy saunas, with prostitutes and vodka laid on” (Belova, cited in Stephen, 2006).

However, recently Russian Federation reached some economic stabilisation: constant growth of GDP; increase in solvent demand for products and services of SMEs; rise in the real income of people; development of industry; favourable foreign trade conditions; rising petrol prices; inflow of foreign investments – all these factors contributed to development of Russian SMEs (Ilyin, 2008).

The new law “On the development of small and medium-sized businesses” (Russian Tax Courier, 2007), which came into force in January 2008 and replaced the previous law of 1995 (section 2.2), improved institutional infrastructure for small businesses by providing:

- Tax benefits;
- Reductive rules of financial and tax reporting;
- Financial, material, informational and consulting support;
- Staff training in business-related subjects;
- Clear criteria for classifying an enterprise as a micro or small business.

According to Pashkova (2008) the infrastructure for support of entrepreneurship in Russia is now quite developed and represented by 1350 organisations, which include support funds and agencies, business incubators, scientific and technological parks, leasing companies, innovation centres, micro-lending funds. Availability and variety of credit products provided by Russian and foreign banks to Russian SMEs is growing (Fomicheva, 2008). The size of credit loans to small business by Russian banks trebled from 123 billion roubles in 2005 to 400 billion roubles in 2007; while the cost of credit provided by Russian Bank of Development dropped from 22% in 2002 to 15.8 % in 2007 (Pashkova, 2008). Furthermore, in the current 2009 economic downturn the Moscow government has lifted tax control of small firms for 2009 in an effort to reduce stresses suffered by small business owners in this period (Ignatova, 2009).

The data on the growth of SME’s sector and loans to SMEs are summarized in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6. SMEs and their crediting

Indicator	2005	2006	2007
Number of SMEs (thousands)	979.3	1 032.8	1 137.4
Number of privately owned enterprises (thousands)	3 499.2	3 638.8	3 855.4
Share of SMEs sales in GDP	13%	15%	20%
Number of banks that provide credits to SMEs	330	1 158	1 895
Loans provided to Russian SMEs by Russian banks (billion roubles)	123	210	400
Percentage change in the amount of credit provided to SME		70%	90%
Average loan per SME (thousands roubles)	125.6	203.3	351.7
Percentage change in the amount of average loan		62%	73%

Sources: FSSS, 2007e, 2007f; Pashkova, 2008; Ilyin, 2008.

However, there is still a shortage of finance available for small businesses. Pashkova (2008) attributes the reluctance of banks to give loans to small businesses to: low legitimacy and unstable financial status of small businesses; their lack of financial competence and mistrust among entrepreneurs of loans products; and insufficient support from the State. Other negative factors influencing entrepreneurship in Russia include rising inflation, inefficient mechanisms of state support and liquidity crisis in world financial markets (Ilyin, 2008).

Rampant corruption represents another substantial obstacle for women entrepreneurs. They can be denied licenses, permits, office space and access to materials unless substantial bribes are paid (Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003). As Estrin et al. (2005, p.22) write, “the chaotic business environment that existed while a legal and institutional framework was being developed also gave many opportunities for *nomenklatura*-based networking, and led to an increase in corruption, a failure to enforce property rights and the rise of mafias.”

The World Bank report (Kupreshenko, 2008) concludes that Russia is regarded as one of the most corrupt states. To organize a business a Russian entrepreneur on average has to go through 12 procedures, get permissions from 50 officials, spend 29 days for registration and pay 200 dollars. The agencies which give the most problems to Russian entrepreneurs are legal bodies; consumer organizations take the second place and fire control – the third

place. According to Kupreshenko (2008) corruption in Russian has grown and changed in the last few years: entrepreneurs spend less on ordinary bribes, but more on kickbacks (*otkati*) – payments to officials for their assistance in arranging state orders for enterprises, which rose from 1.51 % of the order value in 2005 to 1.99 % in 2008. The overall annual amount of bribes paid by Russian small businesses in 2008 was estimated to be 6 billion dollars, which makes up approximately 10% of their profits.

A common belief in Russia is that organized criminals control much of the Russian economy, and also that these problems exist in no other country (Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003). Crime syndicates certainly sprang up like weeds in the years just after Communism collapsed, but whether they actually control chunks of the economy today is open to debate. The denunciation of capitalists as common gangsters was a key point of Communist propaganda that many citizens may simply be clinging to as a way of rationalising their own economic inertia. Whatever the cause, many entrepreneurs feel obliged to pay for private security, and many others conceal income, export capital, use offshore accounts and evade excise duty (Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003).

The social context inherited from the Soviet era poisoned many minds against business. As Estrin et al. (2005, p.23) wrote: "The culture has been strongly opposed to entrepreneurial activity – little distinction was made in the media or public perception between entrepreneurs and criminals". Aversion for business and commerce because they are believed to amount to illegal activity still persists, although it is diminishing as more citizens join in, or benefit. Most women doing legitimate business in Russia choose underserved sectors avoiding categories perceived to be more hostile, intensely competitive or fraught with risks (Barsukova, 2001). However, there are examples of risky, intensely competitive businesses, such as import of luxury garments, gloves, cosmetics, organic produce, specialty foods etc, which are regarded as acceptable and traditional for women.

But apart from these rather objective barriers that prevent women from engaging in entrepreneurship, and that apply to pretty much everyone equally, there are also subjective factors shaping the way women entrepreneurs are perceived by society at large. Others' attitudes do restrict a person's participation in economic activities (Aidis et al, 2005). The cultural contextual barriers encountered by women in the establishment and development

of businesses consist in the persistence of social stereotypes, which imply that entrepreneurship is not an appropriate occupation for a woman as it is not compatible with the role of mother and wife. These stereotypes are rooted in Russia's historically strong patriarchal traditions (section 2.1.1). Sukovataya (2002) argued that a number of lingering myths about women impede them from starting and succeeding in business. The next subsection addresses these myths.

2.2.4 Russian myths about women entrepreneurs

According to Sukovataya (2002) the informational gaps in academic research on Russian female entrepreneurship are filled by a number of populist myths about women in business.

The traditionalist-patriarchal myth: Business is not an appropriate occupation for women because it is too dirty, wild, aggressive, and imposes a certain type of behaviour, incompatible with the role of a virtuous wife or mother.

The medical-biological myth: A woman goes against her nature when she enters a competitive business environment; this is bad for her health as work stress decreases her libido and fertility, increases the risks of a difficult pregnancy and, therefore, has a negative effect on childbearing.

The socio-domestic myth: A woman must choose between family and work. Ambitious 'careerist' women are driven solely by vanity and selfishness; they are self-absorbed and cannot be good mothers and wives. This was reinforced in Soviet times, when a career woman was viewed as sublimating her sexual needs, compensating for an unhappy private life and seeking to forget about her "sexual dissatisfaction".

The effete-aesthetic-pop-culture myth: Running a business deprives a woman of her femininity and sexual attractiveness. The whole point of being a woman is to look like a celebrity model for as long as humanly possible. Stereotypical set pieces widely available in the mass media (from scripts most often written and edited by men) perpetuated all of these myths, reproducing traditional patriarchal views of the man in a "macho" role and the woman playing the role of "victim". Cinema heroines would be mainly concerned with

romantic imprudence or unrequited sacrifice, and typically indifferent to career pursuits. Business activity would be promoted through the images of men-heroes, who fight in extreme risky conditions: “My image of a Russian tycoon was a fat, balding man with a vodka bottle in one hand and the deeds to a foreign football club in the other” (Stephen, 2006). As successful businesswomen do not comply with the “victim” stereotype, their success has not generally been recognised much in the mass media of Russia, up until this time. The rare businesswomen depicted in films are mostly desiccated workaholics, sexually unattractive or prim tyrants (“*Sluzhebniy roman*” – “Office romance”, Ryazanov and Braginskiy, 1977), or else a woman who threw herself into her work life as a result of a romantic failure (“*Moskva slezam ne verit*” – “Moscow does not believe in tears”, Menshov and Chernih, 1979; section 2.1.2, p. 26).

The psychological myth: Business undermines happy family life. On the one hand, women who succeed in business have higher expectations of their partners and therefore fewer candidates to choose from. On the other hand, many men are afraid of strong successful women and perceive the higher social status of a woman as a threat or an insult.

The luck myth: While the success of male entrepreneurs is ascribed to their many gifts, the success of women is attributed to “luck” or serendipity. This myth devalues women’s professional or business success, dismisses their achievements and destroys their self-confidence.

The heuristic myth: Women are naturally incapable of taking quick decisions to resolve tricky business problems. This myth leads to gender professional discrimination, which leads to inequality of opportunities and income.

The professional myth: Women lack the professional skills to be effective managers; they lack the self-confidence, intellectual rigour and ambition to be powerful leaders.

The sexual availability myth: Women only succeed in business with the help of men they seduce or control: their husbands or lovers. This myth discounts the professional capabilities of a woman in comparison to her sexual attributes. If a woman suppresses her sexuality, society labels her a bluestocking, ‘mental case’ or prude. A woman is attacked for sexual restraint if she exhibits formal, analytical, decisive entrepreneurial behaviour –

but equally so for sexual honesty. If she rises professionally, her ‘charm’ or ‘wiles’ must be the reason – never her genius.

In a survey of men and women, some respondents named reasons why women would fail in business:

- 22% said women just cannot be engaged in any serious business;
- 22% sympathized with women who tried to become entrepreneurs, but thought that it is more difficult for them to get the support of official organizations and persons, to obtain bank credit, and so on;
- 21% noted the resistance of the family;
- 12% thought that it is more difficult for women to get the necessary training and knowledge. (Babaeva and Chirikova, 1996).

Chirikova (2002) argues that paradoxically economic instability favours the rise of female entrepreneurs because women tend to gain management experience more easily in times of uncertainty thanks to their common sense and intuition. Kopytina (Stephen, 2006) explains this phenomenon in terms of women’s strong adaptive qualities. The current global crisis may be a good opportunity for Russian women entrepreneurs to prove themselves steadfast against severe economic conditions.

Table 2.7 illustrates the main themes covered by researchers on Russian female entrepreneurs.

Table 2.7. Themes covered by research on Russian female entrepreneurs

Themes	Authors
The place of women entrepreneurs in society and in the economy	Tonchu, 1998; Brainerd, 2000; Barsukova, 2001; Wells et al, 2003; Izyumov and Razumnova, 2000
Reasons why women entrepreneurs started their businesses	Babaeva and Chirikova, 1996; Chirikova, 1998, 2002; Chirikova and Krichevskaya, 1996
Characteristics of businesses owned by women in terms of industry, size, number of employees, etc.	NFWBO, 1996; Barsukova, 1999
Qualities typical of women entrepreneurs and distinctive from those of men	Babaeva, 1998; Babaeva and Chirikova, 1996; Chirikova, 1998, 2002; Chirikova and Krichevskaya, 1996
The distinctive management and leadership style of women and the advantages and disadvantages of this style	Babaeva and Chirikova, 1996; Chirikova, 1998, 2002
Myths about women entrepreneurs	Sukovataya, 2002; Stephen, 2006; Chirikova, 2002
Institutional barriers for entering entrepreneurship and maintaining businesses	Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003; Estrin et al, 2005; Aidis et al, 2005; Barsukova, 2001

2.4 Conclusions

This chapter offered a brief survey of the historical background inherited by modern Russian women, and of the conditions within which female entrepreneurship developed in Russia. It focused on Russian women entrepreneurs in the light of the position that women have held historically in Russian society.

The chapter shows that Russian women have always wanted to play an active role in society. In the tsarist period, elite women received educations, organised music and literature salons, supported the arts and philanthropy and took active part in cultural life (section 2.1.1, p. 22). Women from humbler classes shared their family's work burdens and earned money by applying their skills. Even before 1917, some women began to work in factories and mills; once Soviet rule began, massive deployment of women into industry became the norm. During the Second World War, women became more active in science due to the war effort. More and more jobs demanding high qualifications became open to them (section 2.1.2, p. 24). Now they bring their talents into the sphere of management and entrepreneurship. Despite institutional barriers and the persistence of a sceptical attitude towards female entrepreneurs (section 2.2.4, p. 42), they are proving to be capable to manage successful businesses and gain more and more attention, popularity and respect.

Russian women entrepreneurs had to overcome huge hurdles; most turned to entrepreneurship not by preference, but through circumstance. With Russia's transition from a planned socialist economy to a capitalist free market, the economic status of women in general has deteriorated (section 2.1.3, p. 27). Women have lost not only guaranteed employment but also the relative economic equality assured them by the policies of the Communist government. Between 1992 and 1999, unemployment among women grew faster than that of men, while women's incomes dropped. Left with little choice to support themselves and their families, millions of women have chosen entrepreneurship as their way of economic survival.

Most researchers agree that environmental factors play an essential role in structuring women's entrepreneurial behaviour and motivation. The majority of women are classified

as opportunistic entrepreneurs (section 2.2.2, p. 36). Research indicates that at start-up women were motivated more by external factors, such as earnings, income stability and career ambitions, but at the stage of business development internal factors, such as the desire to realise one's potential and to have an interesting job, became more important.

In the newly created private sector of the Russian economy, female entrepreneurs still operate under conditions of adversity. Most of this adversity is not female-specific, but rather related to the general situation of the small business sector in Russia (section 2.2.3, p. 37). These adverse factors were the prolonged macro-economic crisis, underdeveloped institutions, evolving and innovative legislation, pervasive corruption and lack of recent free-market experience. In a transitional economy, when the regulative mechanisms for business are underdeveloped, success depends highly on people themselves. Women, thanks to their communication skills, client orientation, flexible approach and ability to adapt (section 2.2.2, p. 35), have certain advantages in running a business during periods of economic instability. The change in the value system of the society, the shift towards democratic principles contributes to the appearance of new types of entrepreneurs, who use inspiring leadership strategies instead of traditional coercive methods. However, the existence of a number of myths (section 2.2.4, p. 42) about women in business prevents them from fully realising their entrepreneurial potential.

CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this research is to analyse female entrepreneurship in Russia, notably among women owner-managers of small and medium sized enterprises, and to examine what motivated Russian women entrepreneurs to set up and manage their own business as perceived by the female entrepreneurs themselves.

The aim, therefore, of this chapter is to review relevant literature that focuses on female entrepreneurship and, in particular, theories that might assist in understanding their motivation for becoming an entrepreneur. These theoretical perspectives provide an overview and synthesis of previous empirical research that make a contribution to the theoretical development and understanding of the motivation of female entrepreneurs. The intention of this chapter is not, however, to provide a conceptual model or framework from which to drive the empirical research, but rather to leave open opportunities for reflecting about the theoretical perspectives presented in this chapter after the researcher has collected the primary data.

To this end, the chapter begins with a review of the literature on female entrepreneurs that discusses motivation (section 3.1). On the basis of the analysis of sections 3.1 the researcher provides a rationale for examining female entrepreneurship from four theoretical perspectives and identifies the theories that relate to these four areas. These four perspectives are discussed in greater detail in the subsequent sections and include: psychological theory of motivation, including the theory of needs and expectancy theory (section 3.2); the trait approach (section 3.3); institutional theory (section 3.4) and finally the social and human capital theory (section 3.5). The final section (3.6) reflects on the chapter's theoretical discussion about motivation and female entrepreneurship.

3.1. Development of research on female entrepreneurs since 1980s focusing on motivation

3.1.1. Early studies – personal characteristics, motivation and background

Since the 1980s the number of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) has grown dramatically in Britain, in Europe and in the United States. Western economies of the 1980s recognised the importance of small business as providers of employment, goods and services (Allen and Truman, 1993). Women contributed to the formation and growth of new businesses in two ways (Goffee and Scase, 1985). First, married women provided a variety of hidden and unpaid services to their husbands businesses during the crucial start-up period. And second, they started their own businesses. The increase in self-employment and small businesses was considered not only as a solution for economic problems, but also as manifestation of the freedom to work for oneself and to become independent from the state and the public sector as well as from husband.

One of the main themes within the gender and enterprise literature concentrates on the characteristics and motivations of female entrepreneurs. Many of the early studies concentrated on describing the characteristics of the female entrepreneur and their motivations for self-employment in comparison to male entrepreneurs (Carter et al, 2001).

There are two approaches to the studies of motivation and background of entrepreneurs: the emotionally deterministic approach and the socially deterministic approach (Yamada, 2004). One of the pioneer studies based on the former is "Achievement Motivation" by McClelland (1961), who statistically identified the causal relationship between economic progress and achievement motivation.

However, as Kets de Vries (1985) pointed out, this approach is an over-simplification because it overlooks the fact that various experience-based processes indicate an interplay between high achievement motivation and entrepreneurial traits; therefore, the point of the argument has shifted to the social environment surrounding entrepreneurs (Gartner, 1998). Researchers consider that entrepreneurial activities are not directly induced by high achievement motivation but through interactions with social factors that support and

promote independent enterprises (Yamada, 2004). The role of environmental or contextual factors in people's motivation has been noticed by the psychologists as well (Heckhausen, 2003), which will be discussed further in the chapter (section 3.2).

Most of the earlier studies agreed that the motivations for start-up are similar between women and men (Schwartz, 1976). Like men, the most frequently cited reason for starting in business was the search for independence and control over one's destiny. Hisrich and Brush (1986) drew a demographic profile of female entrepreneurs, examining their motivations for starting in business and their barriers to business success. Using a sample of 468 women entrepreneurs they found out that motivations for start up were the search for job satisfaction, independence and achievement. Carter and Cannon (1992) found that independence and the challenge of business ownership were the two most frequently mentioned reasons for women to become self-employed.

Watkins and Watkins (1983) compared the prior working experiences of female and male business owners and how did it affected their choice of business industry. They found that the backgrounds and experiences of women differed substantially from those of men. Men entering self-employment were more likely to have prior work experience that was related to their present venture. For men, self-employment provided an essentially similar occupation with the added attraction of independence and autonomy. Conversely, women were found to often have no relevant experience to enable them to enter self-employment, particularly in non-traditional business sectors. Watkins and Watkins (1983) concluded that their lack of prior work experience affected women's choice of establishing viable businesses, forcing them into traditionally female sectors. Within traditional sectors, however, other successful female entrepreneurs acted as role models, helping other women to confront and overcome problems. Watkins and Watkins (1983) found that most women were unprepared for business start up and, as a consequence and often unwittingly, took greater risks. Choice of business sector by women entrepreneurs was largely determined by consideration of which areas posed the least obstacles to their success. These were perceived to be those where technical and financial barriers to business entry were low and where managerial experience was not essential to success. As Watkins and Watkins (1983, p. 230) emphasised: "choice of business can be seen in terms of high motivation to immediate independence tempered by economic rationality, rather than by a conscious desire to operate female-type businesses."

3.1.2. Push and pull factors

The attempt has been made to establish linkages between motivations for female self-employment and the overall position of women in the labour market (Goffee and Scase, 1985; Cromie and Johns, 1983; Carter and Cannon, 1992). General discourse of these attempts has been to explain women's motivation to start-up a business by environmental factors, which are traditionally divided into push and pull factors.

Pull factors motivate and attract women to entrepreneurship. Allen and Truman (1993) name government support of SME and provision of childcare such as nurseries among pull factor for entering entrepreneurship. The third pull factor is the equal opportunities legislation of the 1970s, which officially eliminated discrimination in pay between men and women, sexual discrimination, and provided women with rights to maternity pay, leave and job reinstatement (Bagilhole, 1994).

Equal opportunities legislation also extended access to public education for women, which gave them more opportunities to acquire human capital in the form of knowledge in the sphere of management and business and social capital in the form of networks (Emmott, 1999). Some studies (Watkins and Watkins, 1983; Jean, 1997) showed that women entrepreneurs have higher levels of education than women employees. Highly educated women can find themselves dissatisfied with their previous jobs and pushed into entrepreneurship in search of jobs more suitable for their own assessments of their abilities. Human and social capital acquired during education give women more confidence and motivation to seek alternative forms of employment.

Feminist movement of 1970's was the fourth pull factor: it changed the working world and provided women with more liberties, decreased the gap between male and female earnings, eased occupational sex-segregation (Rowbotham, 1998). Feminists, especially followers of the liberal wing, believed that participation of women in entrepreneurial activity can contribute to their emancipation and improvement in their life conditions (Greer and Greene, 2003). But the larger contribution made by the feminist movement was to change the mindset of women and also people's view about what work could be considered to be suitable for women. Furthermore, feminists changed women's self-awareness and their perceptions about themselves. Feminist ideology helped women to seek independence and

self-realisation and offered one way of achieving this by choosing the successful career in business (Rowbotham, 1998).

The fifth pull factor is the flexibility offered by running your own business. This flexibility is especially attractive for married women with children, as it allows them to combine an active professional life with managing a family. Comparing personal characteristics of women entrepreneurs and women employees Jean (1997) found out that women entrepreneurs tended to be older, more likely to be married and have more children. This finding suggests that entrepreneurship is a more viable solution than paid employment for married women enabling them to balance their career with their domestic life. Another motivation for becoming an entrepreneur, therefore, could be the desire to create harmony between work and family life.

Push factors are negative circumstances that force women to turn to entrepreneurship. The most obvious push factor is unemployment. Goffee and Scase (1985) write that with high levels of long-term unemployment entrepreneurship became an important means of employment for many women. The second push factor is dissatisfaction at the workplace. In the 1970s the vast majority of women underachieved in paid employment. They continued to earn lower wages than men and gained less promotion. That is why even those women who were employed could be attracted to entrepreneurship because of the experience of various forms of workplace deprivation (Goffee and Scase, 1985).

Women's dissatisfaction was not only due to low-paid and low-status jobs. A number of women who hold good position in organisation are dissatisfied by the attitude of the management. The "glass ceiling" effect that prevents women from achieving high posts in corporations is the third push factor. Buttner and Moore (1997) write that women frequently leave their previous workplace because they find organisational life stultifying and are frustrated in their career. They meet systematic barriers to career advancement and experience negative corporate attitude towards women. The authors suggest that business ownership was a means for women to obtain job satisfaction and bypass discrimination against women in corporations (Buttner and Moore, 1997).

As well as being a push factor in the case of job dissatisfaction, underpayment or glass-ceiling, previous work experience can sometimes be a pull factor. According to The Global

Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) 2007 Report on “Women and Entrepreneurship”, released by The Center for Women's Leadership at Babson College, entrepreneurial activity is highest among women, who are also employed in a wage job (whether full or part time). This suggests that working provides access to resources, social capital and ideas that may aide in establishing an entrepreneurial venture. Data in the report suggest that social and economic benefits of working are driving women’s entrepreneurship more than increased education or household income.

The freedom given to women by feminist movement can also be a push factor, as well a pull factor. From the one hand women’s emancipation opened the way into new spheres of life for them, including entrepreneurship. On the other hand, freedom to accept salaried work has complicated women’s lives by taking away free time and increased the number of divorces and likelihood of single motherhood. This in turn led women to have to earn more in order to feed the family and, therefore, they turned to entrepreneurship as an additional source of income (Allen and Truman, 1993).

3.1.3. Psychological characteristics and gender differences

Later research became more preoccupied with the characteristics and motivations of female entrepreneurs. Within the broad theme of characteristics and motivations, growing number of sub-themes emerged. The first of these sub-themes relates to the psychological characteristics of female entrepreneurs, usually considered in direct comparison to men or in relation to norms established using male samples (Carter et al, 2001).

Research has been undertaken comparing the psychological profile of female entrepreneurs according to their risk-taking propensity and achievement motivation (Sexton and Bowman, 1990; Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; De Carlo and Lyons, 1979; Begley and Boyd, 1987; Perry, Meredith and Cunnington, 1988), personal value systems (Olson and Currie, 1992; Fagenson, 1993) and in terms of sex-role stereotyping and career selection (Scherer, 1990).

A vast number of studies compare the broader social background and business differences between male and female business owners, in an effort to identify and portray the typical

characteristics of women entrepreneurs. This comparison was made in general terms, considering a range of comparative issues (Cromie, 1987; Carland and Carland, 1991), and in relation to specific criteria such as education and ethnicity (Dolinsky et al, 1994), family background (Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998), and type of industry (Anna et al, 2000).

A number of different studies reported gender differences with regard to men and women's motivation to become an entrepreneur. Chaganti (1986) observed that women business owners frequently note that they pursue social goals, such as customer satisfaction, while men emphasize economic goals, such as profit and growth (Stevenson and Gumpert, 1985). In Sexton and Bowman-Upton's study (1990), females scored significantly higher than men on the traits related to autonomy and change. Brush (1992) argued that the gross revenue and sales growth statistics of woman entrepreneurs may reflect a desire by women-owned businesses to focus on goals other than growth and performance.

3.1.4. Introduction of psychological theories

In more recent research on motivation of women entrepreneurs (Ljunggren and Kolvereid, 1996; Jean, 1997) the attempts were made to use psychological theories of motivation as a theoretical framework. These theories include theory of needs (Murray, 1938; Maslow, 1974; McClelland, 1961), theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) and expectancy theory (Locke and Latham, 1990; Gatewood, 1993).

The study made by Ljunggren and Kolvereid (1996) explored differences between men and women who are in the process of starting a new business. They used the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) as a theoretical framework. This theory proposes that intentions and actual behaviour are a function of three variables: expected outcomes associated with establishing a new business; the degree of perceived social support or social pressure; perceived entrepreneurial abilities. Authors also mentioned expectancy theory as the dominant theory for explaining and predicting human motivation in the work environments. According to this theory individuals are most likely to succeed in implementing a new venture when behaviours lead to predictable and possible outcomes, such as new business creation; related second-level outcomes that result from starting a

business, such as profit generation etc; and if these second-level outcomes are valued. The more these outcomes are valued, the more motivated a business founder feels.

Ljunggren and Kolvereid (1996) identified four main outcomes, which motivate business founders – challenge, autonomy, risk and profitability. Comparison of the importance of those outcomes showed that female entrepreneurs scored significantly higher than their male counterparts on the autonomy factor, while no significant gender differences on the three other motivation factors were found. It suggests that women stress personal expectancies while male entrepreneurs stress economic expectancies. This finding gives a possible explanation of the small size of the businesses started by women: “If women start businesses to achieve autonomy or independence, one would expect them to start small businesses which stay small. In larger businesses entrepreneurs tend to lose their independence” (Ljunggren and Kolvereid, 1996).

In a study was carried out by Jean (1997) on the motivation of women entrepreneurs in Singapore, Jean used the psychological theory of needs to identify the extent to which women entrepreneurs and women employees differ in their needs for achievement, affiliation, autonomy and dominance. The results of the study showed that women entrepreneurs are motivated by a higher need for achievement and a higher need for dominance than women employees. No significant difference was found in need for affiliation and need for autonomy between women entrepreneurs and female employees. The study also explored the impact of demographic variables on the motivation of women entrepreneurs. Using a regression analysis, Jean’s work showed that a university education had the greatest impact on the need for achievement of women entrepreneurs; a postgraduate education had the most significant impact on need for affiliation; and a primary school education was found to have the most significant impact on the need for dominance and need for autonomy among women entrepreneurs.

3.1.5 Research on female entrepreneurs conducted in the last decade

The most recent research on female entrepreneurs primarily concentrated on specific organizations, such as the Center for Women’s Business Research (CWBR), the National Foundation for Women Business Owners (NFWBO), the Gender Entrepreneurship

Monitor (GEM); these are bodies who commit to fulfilling the mission of unleashing the economic potential of women entrepreneurs through research on women business owners and their enterprises. By tracking growth, trends and leadership styles of these businesses, this research helps to illuminate the significant economic, social and cultural impact that these businesses are having worldwide (Center for Women's Business Research, 2007). Now women are recognized as clearly a driving force in the economy, whether measured by the number of businesses owned, the revenues generated, or the number of people employed. Female entrepreneurs are increasingly prominent as employers, customers, suppliers, and competitors in the global economy (GEM, 2007).

Not only has the number of female entrepreneurs increased. They have changed themselves, expanding into new sectors of economy and using new strategies of business. Women who were first to enter business were called by researchers "traditional" (Schwartz, 1976). The typical female entrepreneur was most likely a person with a liberal arts background (Skott, 1986; Stevenson, 1986) and unlikely to start a business in male-dominated industries (Hisrich & Brush, 1986). She lacked experience with finance, marketing and routine business operations, and consequently faced major problems in obtaining loans (Hisrich & O'Brien, 1981). In 1997, Moore and Buttner wrote about the "new generation" of women entrepreneurs appearing in the United States in 1980s. These women do not restrict themselves to traditionally female businesses of retail trade and services and enter a vast variety of occupations such as finance, insurance, manufacturing, construction and other areas which previously were considered to be the monopoly of men. Women-owned businesses in non-traditional industries overtake or even surpass men-owned firms (CWBR, 2005). The new female entrepreneurs do not need assistance in acquiring capital, determining the availability and the use of credit and managerial training as "traditional" female business owners. They prefer more advanced counselling in communication skills and more sophisticated areas of business planning, planning for cash flow, networking and identifying and expanding into new markets. This second generation of female entrepreneurs were likely to be white, older, married women with some postsecondary education, backgrounds in management or administration (Buttner & Moore, 1997).

Modern women entrepreneurs are innovative and creative; they seek knowledge to grow their businesses and to support young women entrepreneurs (CWBR, 2005a). They come

to entrepreneurship with more exposure to the business world, better prepared with technical and planning skills and network contacts (CWBR, 2001) and are oriented to making money and creating new markets (CWBR, 2004c). New generation women entrepreneurs are motivated by entrepreneurial ideas (CWBR, 1998), achievement and “independent philanthropy” (CWBR, 1999).

Continued growth of enterprises is often associated with risk-taking, and some studies (CWBR, 2004a) show that those women who want to substantially expand their businesses are willing to take above average or substantial risks necessary to obtain financing. The online survey, conducted by the Center (CWBR, 2004a) on the sample of 368 women business owners from the networks of three US women’s organizations, also showed that women have a solid base of business training and experience. Success in expanding their businesses made them set more ambitious goals for growth and profit.

Numerous studies continue to compare women entrepreneurs with their men counterparts, revealing differences in growth strategies and sources of financing (CWBR, 2004b), decision making and management styles (CWBR, 2006; Cliff, Langton and Aldrich, 2003). Studies also note the difference in motivation: apart from succeeding in business, women entrepreneurs want to have more balanced life, which gives the opportunity to combine work and family commitments without sacrificing any of them, and also leaves some time for themselves. Rebecca Hoar writes in the article “Leading Ladies” (2003) about the new type of British business women, who are “as active outside the workplace as in it” and who see success not in climbing the corporate ladder, but in finding work that complements their lifestyle: “This new type of entrepreneur and executive is determined to live a well-rounded life in and out of the office and to express their true personality through their work aspirations” (Hoar, 2003, p.47).

Based on a survey 3 840 Canadian women, Hughes (2006) found considerable diversity in the motivations and success of women entrepreneurs and came to conclusion that motivations are linked to the types of businesses women build and the economic rewards they receive. Hughes (2006) identified three groups of motivations that emerge from research in Canada, the U.S. and Britain – classic, forced, and work-family. Classic motivations include independence and challenge; forced motivations relate to the push factors, discussed earlier in this section, and include unemployment, job loss and lack of

work opportunities (Moore and Mueller, 2002); and the last group of motivating factors comprises flexibility and balance between work and family. Of the three groups identified, classic entrepreneurs have higher human capital, higher income, and operate in more traditional businesses that are incorporated, non-home based, and employing others. In contrast, work-family entrepreneurs work the least hours of all three groups, have lower incomes and are the most likely to be in unincorporated, home-based businesses, working alone. Forced entrepreneurs are more recent entrants, with the majority working in unincorporated solo business. While their income levels parallel those of work-family entrepreneurs, however, their work hours more closely resemble those of classic entrepreneurs.

Table 3.1 summarise key findings of research carried out on female entrepreneurs, focusing on motivational aspects.

Table 3.1. Key aspects of motivation of female entrepreneurs

Aspect	Author	Main Findings
Motivation	Shwartz (1976) Hisrich and Brush (1986) Carter and Cannon (1992)	Independence, challenge, achievement, job satisfaction
Background	Hisrich and Brush (1986) Watkins and Watkins (1983) Jean (1997)	High education, but no relevant to business experience
Pull factors	Goffee and Scase (1985) Carter and Cannon (1992) Bagilhole (1994) Allen and Truman (1993) Rowbotham (1973)	Government support of SME; childcare provision; equal opportunity legislation; feminist movement; flexibility
Push factors	Goffee and Scase (1985) Carter and Cannon (1992) Buttner and Moore (1997) Moore and Mueller (2002)	Unemployment; low-paid employment; job dissatisfaction; glass-ceiling; divorces
Psychological Traits	Hornaday and Aboud (1971) De Carlo and Lyons (1979) Begley and Boyd (1987) Perry, Meredith and Cunnington (1988) Sexton and Bowman (1990) Stevenson and Gumpert (1985) Brockhaus and Horwitz (1985) Cromie and Johns (1983)	Achievement motivation, risk-taking, locus of control, personal value system
Gender difference	Cromie (1987) Carland and Carland (1991) Chaganti (1986) Brush (1992)	Education, background, type of industry, age, psychological traits, motivation, business goals
Psychological theory	Ljunggren and Kolvereid (1996) Jean (1997)	Applied theory of needs and theory of planned behaviour to

Aspect	Author	Main Findings
		analyse motivation of entrepreneurs
Work/family balance	Stevenson (1986) Brush (1992) Hoar (2003)	Combining work and family commitments with lifestyle
Diversity	Hughes (2006)	Motivation is linked with the type of business and measures of success

3.1.6. Limitations and informational gaps of research

Despite the increased research interest, the area of female entrepreneurship remains seriously under-researched (Carter et al., 2001). Baker et al. (1997) wrote that the issue of gender in the entrepreneurship literature was neglected by both the mass media and the academic community. There is no real shortage of academic research in the area. There is, however, a clear lack of cumulative knowledge and a failure to date to adequately conceptualise and build explanatory theories (Greer and Greene, 2003).

Critics of the research drew attention to the exploratory nature of the early studies of female entrepreneurship. Criticism was levelled, in particular, at the small size of the samples used and their lack of representativeness and reliability (Curran, 1986; Carter et al., 2000), the general lack of rigour of the studies (Allen and Truman, 1993; Rosa and Hamilton, 1994) and the limited extent of the cumulative knowledge (Stevenson, 1986; Curran, 1986).

Another shortcoming of the research on female entrepreneurs, pointed out especially by feminist researchers (Simpson and Lewis, 2005; section 1.2) is that the common literature on the field holds the assumption that entrepreneurship is a male activity (Brush, 1992). This assumption led to entrepreneurial qualities being for long time associated with typically male traits (Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio, 2004) and women considered to be “deviant” entrepreneurs (Simpson and Lewis, 2005).

Greater methodological sophistication, which has developed later, covered other issues such as gender differences in management of the business, business networks and entrepreneurial performance, but ignored the issue of motivation. One of the research gaps

in the area of women's motivation is the issue of links between entrepreneurial motivations and an individual's prior experience of the labour market (Carter et al, 2001).

The analysis of motivations has generally been undertaken through comparative studies: contrasting women and men at start-up, contrasting women in a variety of cross-cultural settings; or contrasting different groups of women (Carter et al, 2001). It means that instead of exploring how women entrepreneurs explain their behaviour and motivation, the researchers studied their motivation from the point of view of external observer.

While research profiling the psychological dimensions of entrepreneurs continues, recent articles have implicitly challenged its relevance, arguing that the motivation for creating and growing wealth is universal and that entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs cannot be dichotomised (Birley and Wright, 2001). This argument suggests that entrepreneurs can be driven to business creation by the similar motives which drive other people to other activities. It means that instead of searching some specific roots for entrepreneurial motivation, the explanation of their behaviour can be found in general theory of human motivation.

Future research is also needed to identify factors, which determine entrepreneurial intentions and actual behaviour. Such research could help us to understand whether the relatively low percentage of women business founders is due to a lack of interest in entrepreneurial careers among women or due to factors preventing women acting according to their preferences or intentions.

3.1.7. Four perspectives on motivation of women entrepreneurs

This section examined the literature on female entrepreneurship focusing on the motivational aspects. It explored push and pull factors that have led women to seek self-employment and manage their own businesses. Unfavourable labour market conditions for women, including unemployment, low salaries and lack of opportunities for career growth were the main push factors (Goffee and Scase, 1985). Feminist movement (Greer and Green, 2003), equal opportunities legislation (Bagilhole, 1994) and government support (Allen and Truman, 1993) contributed to the creation of institutional context, which

encouraged women to engage in entrepreneurship and therefore were pull factors. Later research has focused on personal characteristics and gender differences, paying a special attention on the institutional factors.

Psychological aspect of motivation was under-researched, as in entrepreneurial research the issue of motivation has been mainly explored through quantitative and comparative studies (Carter et al, 2001) and has resulted in the list of the motivating factors which led female entrepreneurs to starting businesses.

The overview of the literature on the motivation of women entrepreneurs suggested that women's motivation to become entrepreneurs can be regarded from four perspectives that take into account the women's:

1. Psychological needs or motives.
2. Personal traits;
3. Institutional, cultural and social contexts;
4. Background, including family background, education and previous work experience;

Consequently, on the basis of these aspects, the researcher will discuss relevant theories that relate to the above four areas and include:

1. Psychological theory of motivation, including theory of motives and expectancy theory.
2. Trait approach;
3. Institutional theory;
4. Human and Social capital theory;

To summarize, the rationale for this choice is as follows.

Psychological needs are analyzed in the frame of psychological theory of motivation (section 3.2). This theory is divided into the content theory of motivation, which analyzes the subject of psychological needs and motives and is represented by the theory of needs (section 3.2.2), and the process theory of motivation, which analyzes the formation of needs and is illustrated by expectancy theory (section 3.2.3).

Trait approach focuses on the innate psychological traits which can distinguish entrepreneurs from non-entrepreneurs (section 3.3).

Institutional theory looks at the influence of the context on the behaviour of entrepreneur's (section 3.4). The influence of the context can be seen both on motivation, i.e. how likely is that women will be pulled or pushed to entrepreneurship; and on performance, i.e. how likely is that women will succeed in business.

Human capital theory can be applied to analyze the influence of background, education and acquired knowledge on entrepreneurial performance (section 3.5.1). Social capital theory explains the relationship between entrepreneurial performance, and the extent and quality of entrepreneur's network (section 3.5.2). Human and social capital theories also can be used to link the level of human and social capital with perceived entrepreneurial abilities, which constitute one of the variables (instrumentality) of the expectancy theory model (Porter and Lawler, 1968). In this way the link is made between background, motivation and performance.

3.2. Psychological theory of motivation

This section examines general psychological theory of motivation. It commences with explaining of the concept of motivation and presenting the factors and processes that shape the formation of human motivation (section 3.2.1). The following sub-section (3.2.2) gives a definition of motive, presents several classifications of motives and looks at the examples of research, which has found certain motives in entrepreneurs. The final sub-section (3.2.3) presents the process theory of motivation and focuses on the expectancy theory.

3.2.1 Motivation psychology

Motivation literature is concerned with the question why a person is doing something, what is the objective or aim of his/her activity (Heckhausen, 2003). Behavioural acts can be explained by personal traits, motives or situational factors. Chell (1985) defines behaviour as “observable actions on the part of individuals”. If the behaviour of a person does not change strongly depending on the situation or time and differs from the behaviour of other people in the same situations, it suggests that the reason of this behaviour is rooted in the personal distinctive features of this person. This explanation of behaviour is the basis of the trait theory in psychology of personality (Heckhausen, 2003). Trait approach to entrepreneurship is an example of an explanation of behaviour by personal traits (Chell, 1985).

If the behaviour changes substantially in different situations and in time, the reasons of such behaviour lie in the specificity of situation. This explanation prevails in social psychology, sociology and clinical psychology (Heckhausen, 2003). Institutional theory is an example of analysing the influence of situation or context on people’s behaviour (North, 1997).

When the differences in behaviour cannot be reduced to the differences in personal traits or differences in situational factors, the behaviour is explained by the interaction of these factors. This third way of explaining behaviour is found in motivation psychology and cognitive psychology (Heckhausen, 2003).

The decision to engage in entrepreneurship and the realization of this decision does not depend solely on motivation. The factors that shape this decision and the process of its realisation are numerous: background (Watkins and Watkins, 1983; Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998; Jean, 1997), social and human capital (Aldrich et al, 1989; Welsch and Liao, 2005), economical, political, cultural and institutional context (North 1997; Welter et al, 2003), circumstances (Chirikova, 1998). If background and context are externally defined, social and human capital and circumstances are defined partly internally and partly externally. Given the similar background and context, the question remains why individuals pursue different paths in similar circumstances.

When these differences for a group of individuals such as entrepreneurs are traced in many different situations, they can point to the person's originality, i.e. their individual values, dispositions, inclinations and preferences, which express in the strengthening or weakening of the incentive towards certain activities. In psychology these value dispositions, distinctive for individuals, are called motives (Heckhausen, 2003).

The question that follows from this argumentation is to what extent motive depends on the situation and to what extent does it come from an individual's personality. In the literature on female entrepreneurs (Allen and Truman, 1993; Goffee and Scase, 1985; Buttner and Moore, 1997) the situational variables are usually approached through the concept of push and pull factors (section 3.1). They can also be called stimulus and constraints. A simple logic suggests that an individual will be motivated to undertake certain activity if the stimulus exceeds constraints. But the value of the stimulus and constraints differ for different individuals. The same desirable result can be wanted more or less by different individuals. This evaluation of the motive or simply the strength of desire depends on personal motivation (McClelland, 2007).

The action is expedient when it is possible consequences will be those events or states, for which a person made this action and which seem desirable for them (Heckhausen, 2003). People usually behave in a way whereby their actions increase the possibility of realising something that is valuable to them, or to guarantee this realisation. There are two variables that play a role in a person deciding on an action: 1) the value of what a person wants to do or to achieve by doing and 2) the possibility of achievement (Heckhausen, 2003). It means

that unusual behaviour is determined not only by unusual situations and circumstances, but also by personal factors. The choice of the desirable possible outcome of a situation, which can motivate a person to act, depends on the individual value dispositions of a person. The expectation of the possibility of realisation of the desirable outcome is also determined by personal traits, capabilities and resources of a subject (Heckhausen, 2003).

To conclude, an individual's decision to undertake a certain activity are driven by three factors: 1) desirability of the outcome of the activity; 2) feasibility of the process of doing this activity, which depends on personal disposition to this activity and favourability of situation; 3) expectation about the probability of achievement of the desirable result. This argumentation reflects the expectancy theory model (Porter and Lawler, 1968), where the possibility of achieving the outcomes stands for expectancy; personal disposition and favourability of situation stand for instrumentality; and the desirability of these outcomes stands for valence. This model will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent section (3.2.3).

When discussing motivation in relation to achieving desirable outcomes as a consequence of entrepreneurial activity the literature not necessarily refer to a material outcome, such as profit or production or sales. It may include a psychological outcome, or more precisely, the effect that a material result makes on an entrepreneur. For example, if the material result is richness, the psychological outcome may result for example in an increase of satisfaction, self-confidence, opportunity to help or pride. Desirable psychological outcomes are known as motives or needs in the psychology literature (McClelland, 2007; Heckhausen, 2003) and are, therefore, discussed in more detail in the following section 3.2.2.

3.2.2. Theory of motives

It is important not to confuse motive with motivation. Motivation signifies the processes which direct people's activity according to their motives or in other words towards the desirable outcomes. These processes are the subject of the process theory of motivation, discussed in section 3.2.3.

Theory of motives belongs to content theories of motivation, which focus upon internal attributes of the person such as motives. Motive is the object of people's needs and desires, which contains the meaningful class of objectives. Psychologists distinguish quite broad classes of objectives, each of them consisting of numerous concrete objectives. These classes are achievement, help, power, aggression, affiliation. These objectives and their classification is the subject of the theory of motives (McClelland, 2007).

The notion of motive was discovered by psychologists (Heckhausen, 2003) when they were trying to explain consistency in individual's behaviour. Consistency in individual's behaviour is determined from one side as the co-ordination of the behaviour in different situation when these situation repeat in time; and the other side as a stable difference in behaviour of different people in the same situations. In order to explain consistency in individual's behaviour people are ascribed different intensity of the same motives. Motives are regarded as value dispositions stable in time. Each motive embraces a certain substantial class of the objectives of an action or desired consequences of an action (Heckhausen, 2003). Motives differ from needs such as food, water, sleep etc. as they are not innate, but develop in the process of socialisation. Unlike the needs, the realization of motives does not play the decisive role in the functioning of an organism (McClelland, 2007).

Basically, the definition of a motive or need involves three key elements (Heckhausen, 2003; McClelland, 2007):

- it is a state of disequilibrium or deficiency;
- it impels action;
- it is a potential or readiness to respond or behave in a certain way under given conditions.

Psychologists (Lersch, 1951; Murray, 1938; Maslow, 1974) proposed different classifications of motives, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Intuitively-characterological classification of Lersch (1951)

This classification is based on two perspectives: phenomenological self-observation, that allows to distinguish different kinds of experiences and inclinations, which form personality; perspective of a side observer, who regards these experiences as value dispositions or motives. These dispositions are connected with the explanatory categories of everyday communication and their names were found in common spoken language (Lersch, 1951). Lersch's classification of motives seems to be useful for the purpose of this research as it uses the same technique of finding and naming the motives, based on observation and borrowing the names for the motives from the language used by respondents (see Methodology).

Lersch distinguished 3 groups of motives. First group is called "motives of vital being" and concern with "the feeling of life in its spontaneity, primevality and dynamic tendency towards a goal". This group includes such motives as striving for activity, striving for pleasure, libido and need for new impressions. The second group comprises the drives of "individual I" and includes self-preservation, egoism, striving for power, ambitions, striving for solemnity, recognition and self-respect. The third group comprises the motives of "non-individual being", which are "directed on participation in the world, but not in the sense of possession, desire for oneself, but in the sense of the belonging of individual I to the world" (Lersch, 1951, cited in Heckhausen, 2003, p.118). This group includes human empathy, creation, cognitive needs or interests, love, sense of duty and responsibilities, artistic and aesthetic needs, religious needs.

Classification of motives based on personality-environment relation by Murray (1938)

Murray in his work "Explorations of personality" (1938) explained the purposefulness of behaviour brought about through the interaction of personal and situational factors, where needs represent personal factor. He defined the need as "a construct, which signifies the

force, that organises sensation, perception, intellect, conation and action in a way that individual can change the unsatisfying situation” (Murray, 1938, cited in Heckhausen, 2003 pp.123-124). He distinguishes primary needs, such as food, water, warmth etc, and secondary or psychogenic needs. His research carried out on 50 patients resulted in the list of 27 psychogenic needs:

1. Abasement
2. Achievement
3. Acquisition
4. Affiliation
5. Aggression
6. Autonomy
7. Blame-avoidance
8. Cognizance
9. Construction
10. Counteraction
11. Deference
12. Defence
13. Dominance
14. Exhibition
15. Exposition
16. Harm-avoidance
17. Failure-avoidance
18. Nurturance
19. Order
20. Play
21. Recognition
22. Rejection
23. Retention
24. Sentience
25. Sex
26. Succour
27. Understanding

From this extended list of needs four received the most attention from psychologists (Heckhausen, 2003), and subsequently by researchers of entrepreneurial motivation (Jean, 1997). These four needs are achievement, affiliation, autonomy and dominance. These needs and their representation in entrepreneurship literature are discussed in the following paragraphs.

1) Need for achievement

According to McClelland (2007), although individuals have many needs, the need for achievement is one of the critical factors in determining individuals' levels of performance, as it motivates a person to face challenges in the interest of attaining success and excellence. "This need to achieve excellence motivates individuals to overcome obstacles, to exercise power, to strive to do something difficult as well and as quickly as possible" and "to do something better than it has been done before" (McClelland, 2007, p.237).

The entrepreneurship literature suggests that attraction to entrepreneurship as a work role is driven by the desire to demonstrate individualized effort and achieve individual rewards. As observed by Bird (1989) and Sexton and Bowman-Upton (1985), a high need for achievement is associated with the entrepreneurial archetype. This is consistent with entrepreneurial literature which used trait approach and proposed that entrepreneurs tend to have a higher need for achievement than the general population (Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; De Carlo and Lyons, 1979; Brockhaus, 1985). Individuals with a high need for achievement may be attracted to entrepreneurship, because entrepreneurs can monitor their own performance receiving direct feedback from the company's financial performance. Business initiation can be considered as a moderately difficult task (McClelland, 2007), which may involve greater challenge and personal satisfaction on success, compared to paid employment.

Furthermore, the high need for achievement in women entrepreneurs may be the result of the dominance of this profession by men, which means that women entrepreneurs have to work extra hard to prove themselves (Jean, 1997). The study of Jean (1997) also found out that university education increased women's need for achievement: having proven their abilities to excel in the education system, women who graduated from university may have more confidence to seek greater challenge and recognition in their job performance.

2) Need for affiliation

Affiliation motivation is basically the concern to maintain warm, friendly relations with others. Hill (1987) identified four fundamental reasons behind an individual's desires for social contact: positive affect; attention or praise; emotional support; and social comparison. Individuals with high affiliation needs are not concerned with task accomplishments unless they are instrumental in building interpersonal relationships (Atkinson and Reitman, 1956).

Studies have shown that individuals with a moderate need for affiliation tend to be more effective managers and helpers than those with high and low affiliation (Baron, 2000). High need for affiliation is compatible with transformational style of leadership (Rosener, 1990), which was found to be especially popular among women entrepreneurs.

Some studies (Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; De Carlo and Lyons, 1979) revealed that entrepreneurs generally have a lower need for affiliation than the general population. However those studies are quite old and the samples used were mainly male. More recent study on female entrepreneurs (Jean, 1997) did not find significant difference existed between women entrepreneurs and employees in need for affiliation.

Affiliation needs can be easier fulfilled in large organisations, than in smaller enterprises, owned by entrepreneurs (Jean, 1997). However, entrepreneurs have to communicate with many people outside their companies to build-up networks. For that they need good social skills - specific competencies that help them interact effectively with others (Baron and Markman, 2000). People with high affiliation needs are more likely to develop these social skills. Therefore, although fulfilling affiliation needs may not be the main motive that attracts people to entrepreneurship, need for affiliation can help entrepreneurs to succeed, as it helps them to build social capital.

3) **Need for autonomy**

Murray (1938) defined autonomy as "to do things without regard to what others may think" and "to avoid responsibilities and obligations" (cited in McClelland, 2007, p.347). People with high needs for autonomy generally prefer self-directed work, care less about others' opinions and rules, and prefer to make decisions alone (McClelland, 2007).

As noted by Baum et al. (1993), entrepreneurs are likely to have a high need for autonomy since by owning the business, they enjoy greater freedom in their work and personal life. Some studies (Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; DeCarlo and Lyons, 1979) had shown that entrepreneurs have a higher need for independence, i.e. autonomy, than the general population. The idea that the business starter wants autonomy has a vast empirical support (Birley and Wright, 2001; Gatewood et al, 1995; Kolvereid et al, 1993; Carter et al, 2001; Shane, 2003). People start businesses in order to be autonomous, and in many cases the success of their firm is instrumental for achieving that goal.

However, some studies (Jean, 1997) showed that female entrepreneurs have moderate instead of high need for autonomy. An explanation of this finding given by Jean (1997) is that it could be the result of a trade-off between the high autonomy and heavy responsibility associated with entrepreneurship. In exchange for enjoying greater freedom in conducting their work, entrepreneurs assume greater responsibility in their jobs since they have to oversee the daily operations of the business. The pressure from the heavy responsibility of an entrepreneur's work may discourage her to crave for very high levels of autonomy in her job. Instead, she may be willing to sacrifice some work autonomy by delegating her responsibilities to others. A moderate need for autonomy, therefore, reflects a balance between the pleasure of work autonomy and pressure from heavy work responsibilities experienced by an entrepreneur.

4) **Need for dominance**

The dominance drive manifests itself in the desire to control the sentiments and behaviours of others (Murray, 1938). Those who have high needs for dominance have a tendency to seek leadership opportunities and prefer to control others and events (Veroff, 1957).

Motivation studies have shown that the man who makes it to the top in business is usually motivated by a high need for dominance (McClelland, 2007). A high power motive is commonly associated with the role of an entrepreneur since the profession provides an individual with the highest decision-making authority within the organization, as well as the capacity to manipulate people and resources to materialize one's vision. The study of Jean (1997) showed that women entrepreneurs have an above-average level of need for dominance. This finding is consistent with past entrepreneurial literature which stated that entrepreneurs have a higher need for leadership, i.e. power, than the general population (Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; De Carlo and Lyons).

Besides satisfying the need to lead and direct others, entrepreneurship is attractive to power-oriented people because it allows them to enjoy the recognition and respect from the public and their subordinates (McClelland, 2007). Women entrepreneurs with a high power motive may have a desire to influence others to see things their way. In the process of influencing their workers, women entrepreneurs may also be likely to empower them with the feeling of strength and competence they need to attain the goals (Rosener, 1990).

Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954)

Maslow created his hierarchy of needs and described it in the book "Motivation and personality" (1954). His thinking was influenced by the ideas of European existentialism, which stressed the questions of value orientation and meaning of life as central to the study of personality.

Maslow brought two new aspects to the theory of motives. First, he distinguished groups of motives. Second, he organized these groups into a hierarchy corresponding to their role in an individual's personal development. In addition, he proposed an order to the actualisation of these groups of motives. In other words higher level needs can only be actualised when lower level needs have been satisfied.

Maslow proposed five groups of needs: physiological, safety, love and belongingness, esteem and self-actualisation. These groups correspond to different periods of life. For a baby satisfaction of physiological needs is on the first place; for a child safety is more

important; for a teenager romance, social contacts and self-evaluation become significant; only in the youth age some aspects of self-actualisation come into play; these needs can be fully realised in adult age (Maslow, 1954).

Physiological needs are the needs of organism, such as food and sleep. *Safety* needs are expressed through the common preference for a job with tenure and protection, the desire for a savings account, and for insurance of various kinds. *Love* needs include a striving for affectionate relations with people, which involves both giving and receiving love, and a desire to have a place in the groups of society a person belongs to. *Esteem* needs include a desire for self-respect and for the esteem of others. They comprise the desire for strength, achievement, confidence, independence and freedom, which give self-respect; and the desire for reputation, recognition, attention and appreciation, which can be defined as respect or esteem from other people. Need for *self-actualization* was seen by Maslow as the highest and the least satisfied among people. He wrote about this need: “Even if all these needs (physiological, safety, love and esteem) are satisfied, we may still often (if not always) expect that a new discontent and restlessness will soon develop, unless the individual is doing what he is fitted for. A musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write, if he is to be ultimately happy. What a man *can* be, he *must* be. This need we may call self-actualization” (Maslow, 1954, cited in Heckhausen, 2003, p. 138). The term self-actualization refers to the desire for self-fulfilment, to the tendency for a person to become actualized in what s/he is potentially talented.

3.2.3 Process theory of motivation

Process theory of motivation (Fudge and Schlacter, 1999) emphasizes individual perceptions of the environment and subsequent interactions arising as a consequence of personal expectations. As it was noticed earlier (section 3.2.2) the distinction should be made between the concepts of a motive or need and motivation. A motive is a static notion, it is a state. And though it impels action, the existence of a motive on its own does not necessarily involve an action, as a motive can remain unrealised. As long as there is no obstruction to its satisfaction, a need does not usually become a dominant element of personality, i.e. only unsatisfied needs motivate an individual to engage in behaviours in an attempt to reach a state of equilibrium and to reduce discomfort (Heckhausen, 2003). So motive is one of the catalysts which can start the process of motivation. It is a necessary condition of the beginning of this process, but not always sufficient condition. Often in order to start motivation process which leads to action apart from an internal stimulus which is a motive, one needs an external stimulus, which comes from situation. Situation offers an individual the outcomes, which s/he can be motivated by, and determines the possibility of achieving these outcomes. Consequently, the motivation processes embrace interaction between personality and situation (Heckhausen, 2003).

Motivation is preparatory stage before action. Usually a person has several motivation tendencies, which often compete. The question is how s/he makes a choice which of these tendencies to realise. A simple answer would be that a person will realise the strongest tendency, or in other words, the one which leads to the most attractive consequences. However, in reality this choice is more complex, as it is determined not only by attractiveness of the outcomes, but also by possibility of achievement of these outcomes, the amount of energy and resources needed for realisation of these outcomes (Heckhausen, 2003). Also, as an individual does not deal with the situation one to one, but interacts with other members of society, social considerations can shift considerably an individual's motivation. When social considerations come into play, people have to adjust their motives with their responsibilities. The extent of this adjustment depends on the sense of duty of a person. As well as being motivated by their desires people can be motivated by their responsibilities or by the desire to meet one's obligations.

A motivation tendency must first become an intention in order to then transform into action. Usually a person has more motivation tendencies than intentions. It means that not all our motivation tendencies become intentions. On the stage of the transformation of motivation to intention a person evaluates the attractiveness and possibility of realisation of several motivation tendencies and selects those tendencies which should become his/her intentions. These evaluations are always subjective. Murray (1938), when talking about the pressure from situation, suggested distinguishing alpha-pressure – actual pressure, and beta-pressure – interpretation of the situation by the subject.

The process of subjective evaluation of motivation tendencies and intention formation is formalized in the expectancy theory model. The objective influence of the situation on an individual's motivation and behaviour can be analyzed in the framework of the institutional theory. These will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent paragraph and in section 3.4 respectively.

Expectancy theory model

The expectancy theory model (Porter and Lawler, 1968) suggests that individuals, acting through self-interest, adopt courses of action perceived as maximizing the probability of desirable outcomes for themselves. The expenditure of an individual's effort is determined by expectations that an outcome may be attained and the degree of value placed on an outcome in the person's mind (Porter and Lawler, 1968). This model is generally known as expectancy theory but is sometimes referred to as VIE theory, where the letters stand for valence, instrumentality, and expectancy, respectively (Isaak, Zerber and Pitt, 2001).

Although this model was mainly used to analyse motivation of the followers rather than leaders (Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001), it can be applied for explaining motivation of entrepreneurs as well. It is useful for understanding the pledges of successful entrepreneurial performance as it discloses the elements of their self-motivation and motivation of their employees.

Expectancy theory is classified as a process theory of motivation, as relies upon extrinsic motivators to explain causes for behaviours exhibited in the workplace (Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001). Equation 3.1 describes the expectancy theory model.

Equation 3.1. Expectancy theory model

$$\mathbf{MOTIVATION = EXPECTANCY * INSTRUMENTALITY * VALENCE}$$

In essence, the model suggests that the individual feels motivated when three conditions are perceived:

1. The personal expenditure of effort will result in an acceptable level of performance.
2. The performance level achieved will result in a specific outcome for the person.
3. The outcome attained is personally valued. (Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001)

The first condition, “expectancy”, relates to people expending effort when they believe that certain levels of performance are attainable (Karathanos, et al., 1994). This relationship between effort and performance is symbolized as the Effort – Performance (E-P) linkage. The second condition relates to instrumentality and constitutes a perception that performance levels are related to rewards bestowed (Fudge and Schlacter, 1999). It is symbolized as the Performance – Outcome (P-O) linkage. The third condition relates to valence (V) and signifies the extent to which the person values the reward he or she receives (Fudge and Schlacter, 1999). Any weakness in the E-P or P-O linkages or in the level of value attached to the outcome significantly impacts on the person's motivational state, because of the interrelation of the factors inherent in the formula above. Thus, the motivational chain is only as strong as its weakest link (Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001).

If we apply this model to entrepreneurs, expectancy variable or relationship between efforts and performance reflects their perceived entrepreneurial ability. It can also be called efficiency relationship as it determines how the level of efforts affects the results of activity. The instrumentality variable or the linkage performance-outcome for entrepreneurs differs from this linkage for employees because entrepreneurs are not bestowed by external employers, but by the results of their activity directly. Entrepreneur's rewards include extrinsic rewards such as profit or growth and intrinsic rewards such as satisfaction of their needs. Given that an entrepreneur has achieved the desirable level of performance for their company, it depends on the environment, whether this performance

will result in desirable outcomes. So for an entrepreneur the environment or the context of bigger economy acts as an employer for an employee.

The influence of the context on entrepreneurial performance is the subject of institutional theory, which will be discussed in section 3.4. The entrepreneurial ability, according to the trait approach, can be evaluated by the presence of certain personal traits, which will be discussed in the following section 3.3.

3.3. Trait approach

The second section is devoted to the personal element of motivation and discusses the trait approach, which has been used to distinguish entrepreneurs from non-entrepreneurs on the basis of personal psychological traits (Chell, 1985). Chell (1985) suggested to regard personality as “a theoretical construct which enables us to explain consistencies in observable behaviour” (p.3). As it was discussed in the previous section motivation is a result of interaction between personality and situation. Therefore, personal traits have an effect on people’s motivation and behaviour. This idea was supported by the trait approach to entrepreneurship which suggests that people become entrepreneurs because they have a natural innate inclination to this activity, or in other words, have particular individual characteristics which are congruent with entrepreneurial activity (Chell, 1985).

The trait approach derives from the empirical research carried out on entrepreneurs and defines an entrepreneur as the special type of person possessing certain character traits. The aims of this research were to distinguish between an entrepreneur and non-entrepreneur as well as between entrepreneur, manager and small business owner. This approach suggests that only limited number of people that have special innate abilities, qualities and particular insights can become entrepreneurs.

Most of the research on entrepreneurial personality has concentrated on three typical features: need for achievement; risk-taking propensity; locus of control. These three features are elaborated upon in the following paragraphs.

3.3.1. Need for achievement

Need for achievement was discussed in section 3.2.1 (p. 69). This section will add some specific personal characteristics of the people with a high need for achievement.

McClelland (1961) asserted that people with high need for achievement like to take responsibility for their decisions and for “achieving solutions to problems and ...get satisfaction from finding the solution to a problem rather than with monetary reward” (McClelland, 1961,

p.69). Achievement motivated people set moderately difficult but potentially achievable goals, the goals which can give the sense of mastery when achieved.

Achievement motivated people prefer moderate degree of risk because they feel that in this case their efforts and abilities will influence the outcomes. Such a reasonable attitude to risk differs achievement motivated people from gamblers on one side, who choose big risk because the outcome is beyond their power and they can avoid responsibility in the case of a loss, and conservative individuals on the other side, who choose tiny risks where the gain is little because there is a little danger of anything going wrong for which they may be blamed. Both those who like high risks and those who try to avoid any risk are afraid of responsibility for the outcomes. Achievement motivated people by choosing moderate degree of risk accept their responsibility for the outcomes (McClelland, 1961).

People with high need for achievement have a concern for personal achievement rather than the rewards of success. Money is valuable for them as a measurement of their performance and means of assessing their progress and comparing their achievements with those of other people. McClelland (1961) believed that rather than reward achievement motivated people want a feedback on how well they are doing. This feedback must be job-relevant and contain the information about their work. It differs from attitudinal feedback containing the comments on the personal characteristics, which is wanted by affiliation motivated people.

McClelland (1961) asserted that achievement motivated people succeed by constant thinking about doing things better. He found that achievement motivated people are more likely to be developed in the families in which parents have higher expectations for their children than do other parents. McClelland (1961) also proposed the key competencies of successful entrepreneur which are initiative activity and assertiveness; achievement orientation; optimism; ability to see and act on opportunities and commitment to others.

Subsequent empirical studies (Perry, Meredith and Cunnington, 1988; Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; De Carlo and Lyons, 1979; Begley and Boyd, 1987) have supported that entrepreneurs have a higher need for achievement than non-entrepreneur. Need for achievement was largely agreed to be an important characteristic of female entrepreneurs (Shwartz, 1976), Hisrich and O'Brien, 1982; Jean, 1997.

3.3.2. Risk-taking

Risk-taking propensity was defined as “one’s orientation toward taking chances in a decision-making situation” (Sexton and Bowman 1990, p.33). Palmer (1971) defined risk-taking propensity as “the willingness to commit to a course of action which may result in rewards or penalties associated with success or failure” (p.67). He wrote that entrepreneurial function involves primarily risk measurement and risk taking. McClelland (1961) related achievement motivation with an attitude to risk. He concluded that achievement motivated people prefer moderate degree of risk, because they feel that in this case their efforts and abilities will influence the outcomes.

Some empirical research (Begley and Boyd, 1987; Chen, Greene and Crick, 1998; Stewart and Roth, 2001) confirmed that entrepreneurs appear to have a greater capacity to accept risks compared to both managers and the general public. However other researchers consider that entrepreneurs try to eliminate risks and even waste their assets to overcompensate risk (Stevensen and Gumpert, 1985). Palmer (1971) wrote that effective entrepreneur determine policies which will minimize the risk involved. Schwer and Yucelt (1984) supposed that entrepreneurs take more risks than managers, because entrepreneurs face a less structured and more uncertain environment. It means that it is external situation and not internal predisposition for risk that make entrepreneurs to assume risk.

According to Chirikova (2002) while risk taking can be desirable for male entrepreneurs it is not so for women entrepreneurs who usually try to avoid risk (section 2.2.2, p. 69). It was proved by the observation of Busigina (Svarovsky, 2002), a bank manager, who stated that women entrepreneurs usually do not take large credits. Gender difference in risk propensity and risk perception can be affected by cultural context, which will be discussed in section 3.4 in relation to institutional theory.

3.3.3. Locus of control

Locus of control refers to the ability, an individual believes that they have, to influence events in their lives (Johnson, Newby and Watson, 2003). Individuals with an internal locus of control like to be in charge of their environment and of their destiny; they believe that they have influence over outcomes through their own abilities, efforts and skills. Individuals with external locus of control believe that forces outside their control determine outcomes (Rotter 1966). Rotter (1966) found that individuals who had a high need for achievement usually had an internal rather than an external locus of control. Brockhaus and Horwitz (1985) supposed that individuals with external locus of control are reluctant to assume the risks of starting a business. These observations suggest that entrepreneurs have internal, rather than external locus of control, which was supported by some studies (Cromie and Johns, 1983).

However Chell (1985) argues that locus of control is a “learnt behavioural response” rather than trait and that it is important to discover what environmental “stimulus conditions” caused the development of such type of behaviour.

Timmons (1985) attempted to summarize the personality characteristics of successful entrepreneurs and to categorize characteristics that can be acquired and those that are more innate. Timmons considered that the need for achievement and locus of control could be acquired as well as some leadership competences such as the ability to take responsibility for actions and decisions and management competencies such as dealing with failure. Other characteristics, such as the ability to create and build a vision (Timmons, 1985) seem to be a gift given by birth.

Other characteristics that distinguish an entrepreneur from other people are

- Creativity (Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; Hull, Bosley and Udell, 1980; Timmons, 1985)
- Ability and aspiration to innovate (Schumpeter, 1934; Collins and Moore, 1970)
- Aspiration to independence and autonomy (Hornaday and Aboud, 1971)
- Intuition, ability to predict (Timmons, 1985)
- Self-confidence (Timmons, 1985)

- Flexibility (Timmons,1985)
- Ability to inspire (Timmons, 1985)
- Tolerance of ambiguity (Begley and Boyd, 1987)

The key qualities of an entrepreneur discovered by different researchers from the Trait approach school are summarised in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Key entrepreneurial qualities proposed by the trait approach.

Author	Key trait of an entrepreneur	Additional characteristics
McClelland (1961)	Need for achievement	Moderately difficult and potentially achievable goals; medium level of risk; born in family where parents set high expectations on their children
Hornaday and Aboud (1971) De Carlo and Lyons (1979) Begley and Boyd (1987) Perry, Meredith, Cunnington (1988)	Need for achievement	Success preference; Positive relationship between achievement motivation and growth
Sexton and Bowman (1990) Palmer (1971) Begley and Boyd (1987) Stewart and Roth (2001) Djankov et al (2004)	Risk taking	Risk measurement Dealing with risk
Stevensen and Gumpert (1985) Chirikova (2002)	Risk avoidance	
Brockhaus and Horwitz (1985) Cromie and Johns (1983) Johnson, Newby, Watson, (2003)	Internal locus of control	
De Carlo and Lyons (1979) Hornaday and Aboud (1971) Hull, Bosley and Udell (1982) Djankov et al (2004)	Value system	Socially desirable values as honesty, duty, responsibility and ethical behaviour; work ethic
Fagenson (1993)	Self-respect, freedom, sense of accomplishment, exciting life, honesty, ambitions	Ss opposed to managers who value true friendship, wisdom, salvation, pleasure, love and self-control
Timmons (1985) Hornaday and Aboud (1971) Hull, Bosley and Udell (1982) Collins and Moore (1970) Begley and Boyd (1987)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creativity • Ability and aspiration to innovations • Aspiration to independence and autonomies • Intuition, ability to prediction • Self-confidence • Flexibility • Ability to inspire • Tolerance of ambiguity 	

3.3.4. Critique of trait approach

There is considerable critique of the trait approach (Chell, 1997). On the one hand it is inappropriate to search for a significant single trait, as all these traits can be viewed in people who are not the entrepreneurs. On the other hand it is impossible to find an entrepreneur who has all of these traits (Gartner, 1998).

Gartner (1998) gives the following critic remarks on traits approach:

- the definitions based on the "portrait" approach, are too numerous and indistinct;
- very few researchers use the same definitions, with different researchers selecting different defining characteristics;
- researchers use non-homogeneous samples of entrepreneurs, sometimes "variation within the sample is more significant, than variation between sample and the general population" (Gartner, 1998, p.65);
- the portrait, that occurs on the basis of the characteristics attributed to the entrepreneur, is too large for one person;
- this approach does not take into account the influence of external factors and environmental factors.

Another point of critics is that it is hard to measure these traits and there is no criterion to decide whether a person has a high or low locus of control, need to achieve or acceptance of risk (Chell, 1997) She adds that there is a low correlation between the measured quality and the actual behaviour. She also notes that traits approach is based on the assumption that individuals are consistent in expressing their traits which is not true in reality.

This approach ignores environmental factors that may be more important than personality (Gibb and Richie, 1981; Deakins and Freel, 2003). It also ignores the role of learning, preparation and serendipity in the process of entrepreneurship (Deakins and Freel, 2003) and uses a static approach to the dynamic process of entrepreneurship (Gartner, 1998).

Radical feminists (Gunew, 1991) criticized the trait approach to entrepreneurship for its choice of those entrepreneurial traits which were found in male samples, and, therefore, set up unrealistic criteria for entrepreneurial qualities of women.

Environmental and contextual factors, neglected by the trait approach, are the subject of institutional theory, which is discussed in the following section.

3.4. Institutional theory

This section is devoted to the situational element of motivation and discusses institutional theory (North, 1997), which has been used to analyze the influence of institutional context on entrepreneurs and to explain how formal and informal institutions affect motivation and behaviour of female entrepreneurs (Aidis et al, 2005).

Theorists have always been interested in finding a link between entrepreneurial personality and venture performance. It has been established, however, that under certain circumstances this link is not strong (Meyer and Peng, 2005). These findings induced a move towards analysis of the relationships between the personality of the entrepreneur and the environment (Leaptroff, 2005) 1994).

3.4.1. Formal and informal institutions

Since the 1980s, institutional theories have become a major perspective in the social sciences. The core claim of institutional theory is that “actors pursue their interests within institutional constraints” (Ingram and Silverman, 2002, p.2). Institutions are typically defined as the “rules of the game in a society” (North, 1990, p.3).

North (1997) makes a clear distinction between formal and informal institutions. Formal institutions are the visible “rules of the game” such as constitutional law which can be altered quickly to adapt to changing economic circumstances. In contrast, informal institutions are the invisible “rules of the game” made up of norms, values, acceptable behaviours and codes of conduct, which constitute the concept of culture. However, there is no clear-cut distinction between formal and informal institutions, as both informal and formal institutions are interdependent and often co-evolve. Informal institutions seem to develop spontaneously, but this development is influenced by the evolution of formal institutions (Williamson, 2000). People have to adapt to the change in formal institutions. By doing this, they interpret the formal rules, integrating them into their culture. In turn, formal institutions can be modified by the change in informal institutions. When people change their cultural traditions and societal customs, at some point they will need these changes to be reflected in law (Welter et al, 2003).

Formal institutions include political and economical rules and organisations which provide the legal regulation of entrepreneurship. Informal institutions consist in uncodified attitudes which are embedded in the society, regulate individual behaviour and provide culturally accepted basis for legitimating entrepreneurship. Formal institutions create opportunity fields for entrepreneurship; informal institutions determine the collective and individual perception of entrepreneurial opportunities (Welter et al, 2003). Formal institutions influence the number and characteristics of women businesses. Informal institutions shape the way into entrepreneurship and women's intention to set up business (Aidis et al, 2005). If formal institutions may be easily modified and transformed, informal institutions such as norms of behaviour and values are more persistent (North, 1997).

3.4.2. Culture, institutions and entrepreneurship

Institutional theory was mainly used in the frame of macro perspective in entrepreneurship research (Yamada, 2004), which focuses on the determinants of organisational growth for the long term and inquires what entrepreneurs can achieve in terms of wealth creation. This macro approach includes studies that attempt to identify environmental factors that give rise to large numbers of entrepreneurs and to identify various cultural traits of specific locations or ethnic groups that encourage economic success; also, studies that analyze institutional factors such as labour markets, legislation and education.

Research into Central and Eastern European countries has in particular highlighted the importance of contextual influences such as institutions. Research in transition economies increasingly realises that institutions are much more than background conditions, and that “institutions directly determine what arrows a firm has in its quiver as it struggles to formulate and implement strategy and to create competitive advantage” (Ingram and Silverman, 2002, p. 20). The institutional changes in transition economies are defined as “fundamental and comprehensive changes introduced to the formal and informal rules of the game that affect organizations as players” (Peng, 2003, p. 275).

Institutional theory was applied to study the effect of national culture on entrepreneurs. Many studies take an “East versus West” perspective, focusing on differences of national

cultures as a result of institutional differences (Welsh et al, 1993; Pearce et al, 2000). A common starting point is the argument that socialism has created a distinct “bloc culture”. The “bloc culture” has been explored in several studies describing distinct institutional characteristics in transition economies. For example, Pearce et al. (2000) argue that in organisations in transition economies employees are rewarded based on who they are and what relationship they have with the persons in power, rather than on some universal, merit-based general rules. The importance of such institutional factors as personal networks competes with personal and professional characteristics (Meyer and Peng, 2005).

Hofstede’s theory of culture (2001) provides further support for the idea that certain cultures are more favourable for entrepreneurship development than others. Hofstede (2001) constructed four distinct dimensions of culture as an underlying framework to identify and explain differences observed across countries. He measures culture in terms of the following dimensions: Power Distance, Individualism-Collectivism, Uncertainty Avoidance, and Masculinity-Femininity.

Power distance dimension measures "the extent to which less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (Hofstede, 2001). Class systems are normal and even desirable in power distant societies, and it is difficult to climb from one social class to another.

Individualism/collectivism dimension measures the strength of the ties between individuals. Individualism stands for "a society in which the ties between individuals are loose - everybody is expected to look after themselves and their immediate family only" while collectivism stands for "a society in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty." Individualists value personal independence, pleasure, individual expression and personal time and collectivists value reciprocation of favours, a sense of belonging and respect for tradition (Hofstede, 2001).

Masculinity-Femininity dimension reflects the extent to which certain traditionally gender-based values such as success and assertiveness dominate. Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough and focused on material success, women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned

with the quality of life. Femininity stands for a society in which social gender roles overlap: both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life (Hofstede, 2001). Masculine cultures exemplify "traditional" gender roles while feminine cultures embrace values that include equality of the sexes. Hofstede (2001) concluded that a pan-culture differentiation in values where men stress ego goals and women stress social goals does exist.

Examples of gender-specific informal institutions include religion and tradition. The image of an entrepreneur differs across countries and reflects the traditional values of a society. The value that society attributes to women in employment can contribute to labour market discrimination that pushes women to self-employment. The value attributed to the family can leave potential women entrepreneurs little time to pursue entrepreneurial opportunities. During the period of transition the traditional values of society change. That is why the gender roles are also revised during the transition period (Barsukova, 2001).

Uncertainty avoidance dimension measures the extent to which the members of society feel threatened by uncertain and unknown situations and the extent to which a society tries to avoid these situations by adopting strict codes of behaviour, a belief in the absolute truths, establishing formal rules, and not tolerating deviant ideas and actions. Individuals with high uncertainty avoidance are concerned with security in life, feel a greater need for consensus and written rules, are less likely to take risks; while individuals in low uncertainty avoidance societies are less concerned with security, rules and are more risk tolerant (Hofstede, 2001).

Shane (1992) used Hofstede's power distance and individualism-collectivism dimensions of culture to investigate the relationship between cultural values and the innovativeness and inventiveness of a society. He concluded that individualistic and non-hierarchical societies are more inventive than other societies. Mueller's study (2004) used individualism and uncertainty avoidance dimensions of culture to measure differences between men's and women's traits associated with the potential for undertaking entrepreneurial activities. His seventeen-country study found out that the gender gap in risk-taking propensity was positively correlated with the individualism dimension of culture and negatively correlated with the uncertainty avoidance dimension of culture. Mueller's study also showed that gender gaps in entrepreneurial traits were greatest among

advanced economies and least among the less developed economies. He concluded that the gender gap in risk-taking propensity is higher in the individualistic, low uncertainty, developed countries and the lowest in collectivistic, high uncertainty, less-developed countries.

3.4.3. Influence of institutions on entrepreneurial potential and entrepreneur's behaviour

The second major line of institutional research has analysed how differences in informal institutions shape the ways local incumbents conduct their business. A key insight is the identification of network-based strategies during the transition. Many transition countries including Russia historically favour relying on personal relationships (e.g., *blat* in Russia) to get things done (Ledeneva, 1998). Over-reliance on personal informal networks was discussed as one of the particular features of Russian business environment in section 2.3.5.

Peng (2000) argue that the prevalence of network-based strategies is a reaction to the institutional frameworks in transition economies. The informal institutional framework supports one particular growth strategy for firms - developing networks and alliances needed to build trust and mutual understanding (Peng, 2000). Many newly established firms seek informal institutional support, such as personal networks, informal credit, and bartering, to substitute for formal institutions such as courts (McMillan and Woodruff, 2002). As a result, entrepreneurial networking in transition economies has been noted for its intensity (Peng, 2001). As smaller firms are disproportionately affected by market imperfections, they often have to intensify their networking activities with larger, more legitimate, and more powerful players (Peng, 2001; McMillan and Woodruff, 2002).

Institutional theory research has identified crucial barriers to the establishment, survival and growth of entrepreneurial firms (Estrin et al, 2005). A major World Bank project has identified the costs and time associated with establishing a new firm, which are higher than in Western countries (Djankov et al, 2004). Even after overcoming these barriers to entry, entrepreneurs have to operate without effective formal market-supporting institutions. Some authors emphasise the lack of credit for small firms (Pissarides et al, 2003;

Kriauciunas, 2006), whereas others see the main obstacles in a wide range of informal institutions (Johnson et al, 2000; McMillan and Woodruff, 2002), such as “tax and regulatory burden, combined with the plunder by the numerous tax and regulatory authorities”, and entrepreneur’s “use of authorities and/or racketeers to erect barriers against new entrants” (Kontorovich, 1999). In the privatisation literature, an influential school of thought argues that, upon privatising state enterprises, effective restructuring would presumably follow (Boycko et al, 1995, p.150). However, in the absence of market-supporting institutions, the “triumphant completion” of privatisation in countries such as Russia (Boycko et al, 1995, p.8) may end up being a “premature verdict” (Williamson, 2000, 610). Beyond their own resourcefulness, entrepreneurs would have to access complementary resources including human and financial capital. Thus, they would have to be able to employ people and raise capital, which under conditions of imperfect markets is difficult (McMillan and Woodruff, 2002; Estrin et al, 2005; Kriauciunas, 2006).

Aidis, Welter, Smallbone and Isakova (2005) applied institutional theory to female entrepreneurship development in the transition context. They conclude that while formal institutions can create the opportunity fields for entrepreneurship, informal institutions can strongly influence the collective and individual perception of entrepreneurial opportunities. With regards to women entrepreneurs, formal institutions mainly influence the extent to which female entrepreneurship is able to develop their businesses, and also the types of enterprises they are engaged in. Informal institutions such as cultural norms and values shape the way into entrepreneurship and more specifically women’s intention to set up a business.

The change in informal institutions shape the models of behaviour, regarded as acceptable for different genders. Thus, the changing institutional context might constrain women’s formal integration into the emerging market economy because of redefined gender roles. It can restrict their access to the external resources that are needed in order to realize a venture and impose women-housebound roles, which would conflict with entrepreneurial activities (Aidis et al, 2005).

Researchers summarized the most important institutional influences on female entrepreneurship development, distinguishing between formal institutional factors, such as legal statutes and regulations; informal institutions, reflected in the values and attitudes

shown towards women and their role in society; and wider influences of the environment on business development. The formal and informal institutions that influence the women entrepreneurs' behaviour and motivation are represented in table 3.3.

Table 3.3. Formal and informal institutions that influence entrepreneurial behaviour

Formal institutions	Informal institutions
Entrepreneurship legislation	Corruption and criminalisation
Gender equality legislation	Social gender stereotypes
Labour market legislation	Gender discrimination on labour market
Banking system	Attitude of bankers
Family policy and child care infrastructure	Family values
Education system	Cultural norms
Formal networks	Informal networks
Market and consumer's demand	Fashion and trends

Sources: Aidis et al (2005); Djankov et al (2002); Pissarides et al (2003); Kriauciunas (2006); Johnson et al (2000); McMillan and Woodruff, (2002); Kontorovich (1999); Boycko (1995).

As it was discussed in this section, formal and informal institutions in transition economies place a special importance on networking, and therefore, on social capital for women entrepreneurs. The social capital theory, which looks at the role of networks for entrepreneurs, will be discussed in the next section.

3.5. Social and human capital theory

3.5.1. Social capital

When doing something, individuals acquire knowledge, experience, skills, which form their human capital. By behavioural acts of interacting with the other members of society, individuals acquire social capital. The human and social capital of an individual builds his or her image in the eyes of the others, enabling them to label him or her into a certain “type” (Chell, 1997). The label, placed on an individual, affects his/her opportunities to fulfil a certain activity, including entrepreneurship. Therefore, human and social capital can influence the motivation to become an entrepreneur, as well as the chances to succeed in business. Many researchers (Bosma et al, 2004; Cooper, Gimeno-Gascon and Woo, 1994) agree that investments in human and social capital improve entrepreneurial performance.

Entrepreneurship is often said to be a network activity (Birley, 1984). There is a number of studies that argues that social interactions are essential in the formation of a new venture (Adler, 2002; Bosma et al, 2004; Shane and Cable, 1999). These studies insist on the importance of friendship, affections, and confidential relationships, and point out that emotional or psychological energy has been less valued in recent discussions of strategies and management.

The term social capital has been used to signify a set of social resources embedded in relationships (Burt 1992; Bourdieu 1985). Woolcock (1998) defines social capital as the “norms and networks facilitating collective action for mutual benefit” (p.3). Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) defined social capital as the sum of actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by individual entrepreneurs. A broader conceptualization presents social capital as including not only social relationships but also the norms and values associated with them (Coleman 1988). Baron and Markman (2000) propose that social capital is based on networks, social status, personal ties, and referrals. There are two kinds of network for entrepreneurs: formal networks (investors, accountants, lawyers, business associations) and informal networks (family, friends, and business contacts) (Yamada, 2004).

Studies have demonstrated that an entrepreneur's personal network allows access to resources that are not possessed internally (Adler, 2002; Aldrich, 1989). It means that a high level of social capital, built on a favourable reputation, relevant previous experience, and direct personal contact, helps entrepreneurs in gaining access to venture capitalists, key competitive information sources, potential customers and investors. Baron and Markman (2000) believe that social capital provides individuals with a favourable social identity which can be converted into significant, tangible benefits. These benefits include enhanced access to information and increased cooperation and trust from others.

Researchers proposed to distinguish several dimensions of social capital, usually categorizing a set of relationships into three clusters: structural, relational and cognitive (Nahapiet and Ghoshal's. 1998; Welsch and Liao, 2005). Structural dimension of social capital refers to the people entrepreneurs know and can reach, or in other words the structure of the network possessed by an individual. Relational dimension of social capital concerns the quality of personal relationships with the people in entrepreneur's network. It focuses on the particular relationships people have, such as respect, trust, trustfulness, and friendliness (Nahapiet and Ghoshal's. 1998). The entrepreneur with a higher degree of trust and trustfulness is able to use such relationships to his or her advantage. Therefore the structural position of an entrepreneur's network may be necessary, but it is not sufficient to have an impact on business creation process. Relational capital affects the extent that an entrepreneur is able to receive informational, physical, and emotional support in the venture creation process (Welsch and Liao, 2005).

Research investigating the management of female owned enterprises has often stressed the important role of networks in the survival and success of individual firms (Aldrich, 1989; Rosa and Hamilton, 1994). Research in transition countries like Ukraine and Lithuania (Aidis et al, 2005) indicates that women more often use help from strong personal ties to register their firm and to raise capital.

Social skills

Baron and Markman (2000) proposed an idea that entrepreneur's social skills, which help them to interact effectively with others, play an important role in their success. Neil (1997) defined social skill as the ability to motivate cooperation in other actors by providing those actors with common meanings and identities in which actions can be undertaken and justified. A high level of social capital is built on a favourable reputation, relevant previous experience and direct personal contacts. The nature of the entrepreneur's face-to-face interactions can strongly influence their success. Specific social skills, such as the ability to read others accurately, make favourable first impressions, adapt to a wide range of social situations, and be persuasive, can influence the quality of these interactions and, therefore, contribute to their social capital (Baron and Markman, 2000). Baron and Markman (2000) identified four specific social skills, which include social perception, persuasion and influence, impression management, and social adaptability. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

1) Social perception

Social perception refers to accuracy in perceiving others, including perceptions of other's motives, moods, personal traits, and intentions (Baron and Markman, 2000). This skill helps to choose the best job applicants, identify the causes of poor employee's performance and select effective corrective actions. Social perception also helps in the process of negotiation. Individuals with good social perception can easier determine whether their opponents are honest or not, which helps entrepreneurs when choosing partners and hiring key employees. Social perception, based on subtle nonverbal cues, is often more accurate than judgement derived from analytical enquiry.

2) Impression management

Baron and Markman (2000) define impression management as a "proficiency in a wide range of techniques for inducing positive reactions in others, which includes efforts to enhance one's own appearance and image, agreeing with others, flattering them, and giving them small gifts during an initial meeting" (p.10). The impressions that entrepreneurs made on others are not entirely the result of conscious efforts at impression management by the

entrepreneurs. Some findings indicate that many factors influencing first impressions are not directly under the voluntary control of the persons involved and are not readily managed by them. These include certain aspects of their physical appearance and subtle features of their speech (Baron and Markman, 2000).

3) **Persuasion and influence**

According to Baron and Markman (2000) persuasion and influence are skills for changing the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of others in desired directions. The entrepreneurs have to persuade investors to invest, bankers to lend, partners to collaborate, customers to buy and employees to do a quality work.

The ability to persuade and influence is interrelated with two other social skills – social perception and impression management. There are two parties involved in the process of persuasion and influence – the party that persuade and the party that is being persuaded. So the result of this process depends on the characteristics of these parties. Firstly, in order to influence people's attitudes and behaviour an entrepreneur needs to understand who these people are, what do they want, what thoughts, moods, emotions and motivations lie behind their behaviour, which refers to social perception. Secondly, if an entrepreneur has an authority and can produce a good impression on people, s/he can persuade them easier.

4) **Social adaptability**

Social adaptability involves the ability to adjust to a wide range of social situations and to feel comfortable with individuals from diverse backgrounds (Baron and Markman, 2000). This skill enables entrepreneurs to talk readily to anyone about almost anything, introduce themselves to strangers with relative ease, and easily adjust to a wide range of new social situations. For example, social adaptability can be very helpful when entrepreneurs make cold calls on strangers.

To conclude, social skills play an important role in entrepreneur's success because such skills facilitate effective relations with many people outside and inside their companies, and assist them in establishing business alliances that are very valuable to their companies' survival and development.

3.5.2. Human capital

According to Coleman (1988), human capital includes knowledge and skills that enable an individual to take actions. Hisrich (1989) explained that the knowledge of the entrepreneur can be seen as composed of the skills and functional knowledge of the entrepreneur. The most important component of human capital is knowledge acquired through formal education and experience (Coleman, 1988; Davidsson and Honig, 2003), and entrepreneurial self-efficiency (Chen et al., 1998). Therefore, human capital comprises tacit and explicit knowledge in the form of functional knowledge and skills, acquired through formal education and business experience, and entrepreneurial self-efficiency.

The concept of two types of knowledge – explicit and tacit – was suggested by Polyani (1967). Explicit knowledge is an extension of data and information, which can be expressed and written down, such as facts, theories, methods, etc. It is often associated with comprehension, which is defined as ability to use knowledge in the context in which it was given. Tacit knowledge is embodied in individuals and collectively in their organisations; it is acquired by our own experience or through learning from the experience of others. Tacit knowledge is concerned with intuition, feelings and personal values, that are not so easily expressed, but may be demonstrated as skills and competences; it is associated with application – the ability to apply knowledge in contexts other than the one in which it was given. Based on Polyani's (1967) classification of knowledge, Hill (2007) analyzed different types of operational knowledge used by entrepreneurs, concluding that they rely more on tacit rather than explicit knowledge.

Social capital and human capital are strongly connected since they are interactive (Zorn, 2004). Social capital supports the creation of human capital (Coleman, 1988)). The better social economic status deriving from social capital enables individuals to achieve better schooling and allows them access to more efficient business support. In turn, higher levels of human capital in the form of tacit knowledge and social skills enable people to network more effectively (Baron and Markman, 2000). Zorn (2004) proposed to unite the concepts of human and social capital in a concept of entrepreneurial capital.

According to the human capital theory, the returns to a deliberate specific investment in a current activity should be sufficiently large to outweigh the cost attached to the investment.

Contrarily, the returns to an investment in a more general human capital might accrue to the investor during a longer period of time while performing various activities (Becker, 1964). Bosma et al. (2004) contrast general investments with two types of specific investments in human and social capital: industry-specific and entrepreneurship-specific investments. Industry-specific investments lose part of their value outside the industry in which the business venture is started whereas entrepreneurship-specific investment loses its return outside the entrepreneurial environment. They argue that investments into specific capital are more influential on firm performance than are general investments in human and social capital.

The level of human capital can be measured by several variables:

- experience of business founder in business ownership itself;
- experience in activities related to business ownership (e.g. experience in leadership);
- experience in the industry in which the founded business is active;
- functional knowledge;
- age;
- education;
- experience as an employee;
- entrepreneurial self-efficiency.

(Bosma et al, 2004; Zorn, 2004)

The first two variables relate to entrepreneurship-specific human capital; industry-specific investments in human capital relates to the experience in the specific industry and functional knowledge; age, education, employee's experience and self-efficiency represent general human capital. Bosma et al (2004) discovered that all the variables of human capital except age affect entrepreneurship performance, which they measured by firm's survival time, profits and employment generation. The difference is that entrepreneurship-specific human capital affects more the survival of the firm, education affects the profits, employee's experience affects employment generation and industry-specific human capital affects all the measures of performance.

Bosma et al (2004) also compares the effect of the innate talent and the effect of the investments into human and social capital on entrepreneurial performance. They conclude that entrepreneurs with lower ability expect higher benefits from their investments into human and social capital than do higher ability entrepreneurs, because the latter group might judge that they "don't need" these investments. Therefore the effect of the investments into human and social capital is higher for less talented entrepreneurs than for more talented entrepreneurs. It means that an entrepreneur with an innate entrepreneurial talent, which is expressed in personal qualities, can succeed without having much business experience, knowledge or high level of education. It confirms the proposition of the trait approach (section 3.3, p. 78) that there are certain personal qualities which can be attributed to an entrepreneur and that the difference in entrepreneurial performance can be explained by the difference in these qualities.

3.6. Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to examine relevant literature that focuses on female entrepreneurship and, in particular, theories that might assist in understanding their motivation for becoming an entrepreneur. The literature incorporated into the overview ranged from the earliest studies on women entrepreneurs (Shwartz, 1976; Watkins and Watkins, 1983), which used mainly qualitative methodology to observe the women's personal characteristics and background, and merely listed their motives for starting businesses; to the research of the last decade (Center for Women's Business Research, 2004, 2007; GEM, 2007), which discussed a very wide variety of themes, including the women entrepreneurs' attitude to risk, growth strategies, their management and leadership styles, networking, institutional and financial constraints, the economic impact of women-owned businesses; as well as more specific issues, such as the obstacles and opportunities for women entrepreneurs in a particular sphere of business or of a particular ethnic background.

The chapter discussed four theories which can be applied to analyze behaviour, motivation and success of women entrepreneurs. These theories are: the psychological theory of motivation, the trait approach, the institutional theory, and the human and social capital theory.

As the chapter has shown, the question why people become entrepreneurs has not received much attention within general theory of entrepreneurship. It was touched upon by trait approach when the latter considered achievement motivation, but that amounts to just one aspect of entrepreneurial behaviour. Moreover this aspect was not explored in depth: research shows that entrepreneurs usually have more desire to achieve than non-entrepreneurs, but it does not explain clearly what they want to achieve. That is why the researcher then addresses theories outside entrepreneurship theory, such as the psychological theory of motivation and institutional theory.

Some additional more specific theories have been discussed in relation to the four identified theories: the expectancy theory model was discussed in relation to the process

theory of motivation and Hofstede's (2001) theory of culture was discussed in relation to institutional theory.

These theories look at the women's behaviour and motivation from different angles. Trait approach focuses on innate, internal personal traits, and therefore, represents the view from within. Institutional theory focuses on the influence of external contexts on entrepreneur's behaviour and represents the view from the outside. The theory of culture identifies four dimensions of culture and reflects on their influence on entrepreneurial traits. Psychological theory of motivation explains behaviour by the combination of internal factors, such as motives, and situational factors. The expectancy theory model shows how the interaction of internal aspirations and subjective perceptions with external conditions and objective capacities results in stronger or weaker motivation. Human capital theory relates to the women's background and their personal characteristics and introduces the concept of tacit and explicit knowledge acquired by entrepreneurs. Social capital theory looks at the behaviour of women entrepreneurs as social interaction and suggests that entrepreneurial success depends on the quality of this interaction.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present a comprehensive explication of the methodology used in this research and to demonstrate philosophical underpinnings of the approach chosen by the researcher. As the aim of the research is to analyse female entrepreneurship in Russia, notably among women owner-managers of small and medium sized enterprises, and to examine what motivated Russian women entrepreneurs to set up and manage their own business as perceived by the female entrepreneurs themselves, the chapter focuses on the subjective perspective and qualitative methodology.

The chapter follows the logic of constructing the research methodology, which starts with the researcher choosing a research philosophy, methodological approach, strategy and data collection method (Silverman, 2004). As the research brings together three areas of knowledge (section 1.3) – gender studies, entrepreneurship and the rise of entrepreneurship in the context of the Russian economy in transition – the use of a hybrid methodology for this research is justified bringing together several related methodological approaches: qualitative, phenomenological and feminist.

To this end the chapter is structured as follows. The first part commences with a review of the paradigms found in entrepreneurship and small business research as categorised by Burrell and Morgan's (1979) paradigmatic taxonomy, highlighting the emergence and justification of more subjective approaches in the field (section 4.1.1). The subsequent sections focus on phenomenology (4.1.2) and feminism (4.1.3) because of its relevance to the research approach adopted by the author. This is then followed by a discussion of qualitative methodological approaches (4.1.4) because adopting such an approach is recommended to be more appropriate for research within phenomenological and feminist paradigms. Having provided a general overview of these perspectives, Part 1 of the chapter concludes with a presentation of the specific methodological approach adopted for the purpose of this research (section 4.1.5).

The second part starts with a discussion of phenomenological interviews as the method of data collection, focusing on the issues of the role of the researcher, active participation of the respondents and sense-making process (section 4.2.1). This is then followed by a description of the interview design, developed by the researcher (4.2.2), and the sample selection process (4.2.3).

The third part of the chapter discusses data processing, paying attention to the issues of interpretation and language (section 4.3.1). It explains data analysis, which consists of several stages and follows the logic of inductive phenomenological inquiry (section 4.3.2).

The fourth part talks about limitations of research. The chapter ends with a conclusion about the approach adopted for the research.

4.1. Research philosophy

Silverman (2004) argues that the research process begins with adopting a research philosophy appropriate to the chosen research subject. Research philosophy depends on the way the researcher thinks about the development of knowledge. Silverman (2004) uses the word “model” to define the general view of the researcher on the reality, knowledge about the reality and knowledge construction. A model, or paradigm, provides an overall framework for how we look at reality. The model includes ontology – the view on what reality is like and the basic elements it contains; and epistemology – the view about the nature of knowledge and the possible ways of knowledge production. The selection of an appropriate research methodology can be understood as an iterative process, where decisions made at an ontological level inform one’s epistemological stance and create the context in which research is conducted (Cope, 2003). It is important to make this decision-making process clear, so that one can be certain about author’s ontological and paradigmatic position (Grant and Perrin, 2002).

4.1.1. Paradigmatic taxonomy

The theoretical framework for entrepreneurship theory includes many disciplines, including anthropology, economics, psychology, sociology, geography, politics and history (Curran and Blackburn, 2001). This multidisciplinary framework resulted in numerous research approaches and discourses in entrepreneurship literature (Savage and Black, 1995). The multiplicity of research approaches to entrepreneurship raises two questions: how to classify those approaches and how to select an appropriate approach for a particular research. Grant and Perren (2002) made an attempt to resolve these questions aiming to “distil the paradigmatic subtextual essence of the influential discourses that exist at the epicentre of recent entrepreneurial research” (Grant and Perren, 2002, p.188). They undertook to overview the selected articles devoted to entrepreneurial and small business research and to map them in the context of Burrell and Morgan’s (1979) paradigmatic taxonomy. They chose this taxonomy as they believe that it is “the most widely disseminated paradigmatic framework” (Grant and Perren, 2002, p. 188).

The starting point of Burrell and Morgan's (1979) taxonomy was the idea that the approach to social science depends on philosophical assumptions and the assumptions about the nature of society (Grant and Perren, 2002). Burrell and Morgan proposed the use of two axes to group these assumptions: objectivist-subjectivist and radical-regulation.

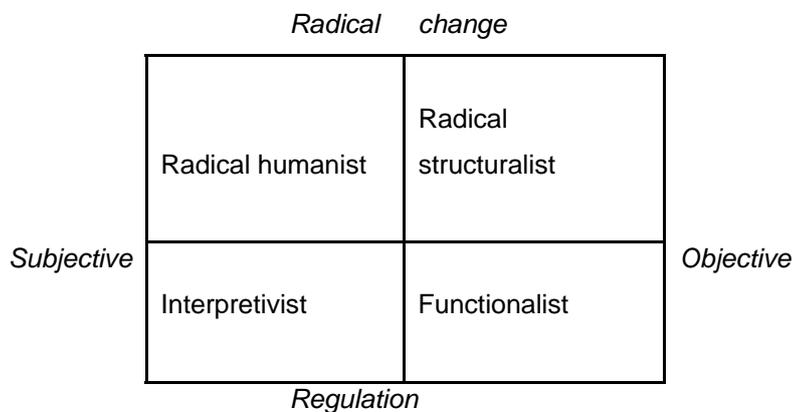
Objectivist researchers see social world as objective reality with universal laws (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), so they fit into positivist methodological paradigm. Positivism assumes that the reality is given, independent from people's views and made up of social facts that could be studied in the same way as natural facts (Silverman, 2004). This paradigm usually implies a quantitative and highly-structured methodology, using a deductive approach, such as a survey method and statistical analysis. Positivism assumes that the neutral researcher can be separated from the subject of research and does not influence the subject of the research and the findings are independent from the personality of the researcher (Silverman, 2004).

Subjectivist researchers see the social world as constructed from individual interpretations of their unique experiences (Burrell and Morgan, 1979): so they share interpretivistic methodological perspective. Interpretivism assumes that the reality is socially constructed in the process of people's interactions. It means that the reality, as people perceive it, is the agreement that people made on what they will consider to be real. People place many different interpretations on the situations, in which they find themselves. These interpretations affect their actions and the way they interact with others. People interact not only with their environment, but they also try to make sense of it through their interpretation of events and the meanings that they draw from these. Their actions are seen as being meaningful in the context of these socially constructed interpretations. The meanings of people's behaviour are communicated by the means of language, which enables researchers to consider language as a contextualising resource for understanding the meaning of a phenomenon (Welsh and Piekari, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to explore the subjective meaning motivating people's action in order to be able to understand people's behaviour (Cope, 2005). That is why researchers working within the interpretative paradigm usually prefer to use qualitative methodology, which focuses on rich and diverse meaningful data rather than facts (Silverman, 2004).

Radical researchers see the social world in constant change because of the structural conflict, caused by the domination of certain groups (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). The feminist methodological approach is an example of this stream of research (Letherby, 2003). Researchers with a regulatory perspective see society in its “unity and cohesiveness” and are interested in the mechanisms which maintain it (Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

These dimensions create four paradigms: functionalist, interpretivist, radical-humanist and radical-structuralist (see Figure 4.1). Functionalists take an objective view of reality and emphasise order in society. Interpretivists take a subjective view of reality and assume order in society. Radical-humanists take a subjective view of reality and assume that society is constantly changing. Radical-structuralists take an objective view of reality and emphasise change in society (Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

Figure 4.1. Burrell and Morgan’s Paradigmatic Framework (Burrell and Morgan, 1979)



The analysis made by Grant and Perren (2002) shows that the majority of the articles in entrepreneurship research up to 2002 take a functionalist perspective. Their analysis has certain limitations. First, they based their research only on articles published in 2000 in one of the six peer review journals and written by the members of editorial board of the key six journals. It means that they did not consider earlier and later articles, some of them having the potential of being a pivot for further development of entrepreneurial thought. Second, their analysis of recent articles is restricted to the written word of leading authors. Their conclusion, that entrepreneurship area can be subscribed to one paradigm, is contested by

the observation of Perren et al. (2001) that entrepreneurship research uses the methods and the theories of other areas, such as sociology, psychology and management, which do not share a unitary paradigm. Despite their finding that most articles published in 2000 share functionalist paradigmatic perspective, they argue that entrepreneurship research should not remain within this research paradigm because of its applied focus that is also based on experience. Therefore, Grant and Perren (2002) called researchers to consider alternative paradigmatic positions. Gartner and Birley (2002) also argued that qualitative research should not be a “special case” within entrepreneurship research and attention should be shifted from numbers to “coherent story of what we believe to be the nature of entrepreneurship, as experienced” (Gartner and Birley, 2002, p.388). Therefore, they suggest applying a phenomenological form of inquiry.

In-keeping with the focus of this research, which is to explore what motivated Russian women in Moscow to become entrepreneurs as perceived by them, the researcher has adopted a phenomenological, qualitative and feminist approach that sits within the interpretivist and radical humanist paradigm. The phenomenological, qualitative and feminist approaches are, therefore, discussed in more details in the subsequent sections.

4.1.2. Phenomenology

The term “phenomenology” derives from two Greek words: *phainomenon*, which means “appearance” and *logos*, which means “reason” or “word”. So phenomenology means “the study or description of phenomena”, where phenomenon signifies “anything that appears or presents itself to someone” (Moran, 2000). Phenomenology can be defined as “description of things as one experiences them, or one’s experiences of things” (Hammond et al, 1991, p.1). The emphasis on the individual experiences classifies phenomenology as being within the interpretivistic paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

The major theme of phenomenology regards the relationship between subjective and objective realities. This philosophy assumes that the subjective world cannot be separated from natural objective world and that “subjectivity is involved in the process of constituting objectivity” (Moran, 2000, p.15). This inseparability of subjective and objective is similar to views held by psychologists on motivation, where personal and

situational factors are intertwined (chapter 3, section 3.2.1). As it is impossible to divide one's experience from what it is experienced, there is no independent, objective reality to be discovered through rational empirical scientific methods (Cope, 2003). For phenomenologist the only real world is that which is subjectively experienced (Hammond et al, 1991). Stewart and Mickunas (1974, p.65) explain that human beings cannot be studied in isolation from the world or context in which they interact and live: "The total ensemble of human actions – including thoughts, moods, efforts, emotions and so forth – define the context in which man situates himself. But, in turn, the world-context defines and sets limits to human action".

The endeavour of phenomenology is a philosophy which is free from presuppositions (Cope, 2003). The aim of phenomenology is to provide a careful and authentic description of conscious experience (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). In order to do that prior scientific assumptions should be suspended and explanations should not be imposed before the phenomenon has been understood "from within" (Moran, 2000). As the aim of phenomenological inquiry is to understand the subjective nature of lived experience from the perspective of those who experience it, phenomenologists assume that individual's interpretation of an experience is an essential part of the experience itself (Patton, 1990). Phenomenologist views human behaviour as a result of how people interpret the world, therefore, in order to understand the meaning of a person's behaviour it is essential to see things from that person's point of view (Cope, 2005).

4.1.3. *Feminism*

If we agree with the position of interpretivist and phenomenological perspectives that reality is constructed by people themselves and that people's behaviour can be understood only from their point of view, then the question arises "Who are these people?" Feminists argue that the common view of reality is created by those who dominate in society – men. As Toren et al (1997) argue, the culture in a wide sense of the word, as a system of human views on reality, has been created by men, and the history of entrepreneurship as well as the scientific theories of it were not an exception. As women were long time excluded from education and men dominated in academic life (Harding, 1987), the knowledge was constructed from a man's perspective and women's exclusion was justified. Feminists

pointed to the omission and distortion of women's experiences in mainstream social science, the tendency to universalize the experience of men, and the use of science to control women, whether through medicine and psychiatry, or through social scientific theories of family, work, sexuality, and deviance (De Beauvoir, 1999).

Feminism philosophy suggests that describing and explaining reality from only the male point of view restricts its understanding and that perhaps another reality exists, which is based on female thoughts and female experience (Stern, 1999). Therefore, as it has been discussed in section 1.3.1 the aim of feminism is to include the women's experience into theory building to eliminate the distortions caused by male dominance in culture (Jansen and Davis, 1998) and existence of "invisible" masculine standard (Collinson and Hearn, 1994; section 1.3.1, p. 7).

Entrepreneurship research did not escape these distortions. The common literature in the field holds the assumption that entrepreneurship is a male activity (Brush, 1992). This assumption has led to that entrepreneurial qualities were long time associated with typically male character (Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio, 2004). Therefore the main body of entrepreneurship research has been based on models of male economic activity, used male samples and attributed typically masculine characteristics to an entrepreneur (Stevenson, 1986). Women have historically been characterized as "sensitive, intuitive, incapable of objectivity and emotional detachment and immersed in the business of making and maintaining personal relationships" (Harding, 1987, p.38). These typically feminine traits were seen incompatible with entrepreneurial activity and were considered to be a barrier for entrepreneurial success (Simpson and Lewis, 2005).

Feminist approach shifts these distorted views by doing research which is respectful of respondents and acknowledge the subjective involvement of the researcher. Feminist researchers are concerned to do research which reveals what is going on in women's lives and to undertake research in a way that is not-exploitative. Feminists rather than pointing to the negative consequences of women's identification with natural realm, celebrate femininity as an advantage. So the main feature of feminist research is the continuous and reflexive attention to the significance of gender as an aspect of all social life (Letherby, 2003).

Letherby (2003) names three distinctive features of feminist methodology:

1. Focus on women's experience. Feminists work with the personal testimony of individual women. The point is not only to know about women, but to provide a fuller and more accurate account of society by including them (Gunew, 1991; Mirchandani, 1999). This feature draws together feminist methodology with phenomenology.

2. Importance of ethic issues. Reinharz (1984, p. 95 cited in Letherby, 2003, p. 68) compares the traditional research with intrusion when researcher “take and run” and “intrude to their subjects” privacy, disrupt their perceptions, utilize false pretences, manipulate the relationship and give nothing or little in return”. Feminist methodologists have searched for practices that will minimize harm to women and limit negative consequences. They insist on taking into account how respondents view the researcher and the purpose of the research.

High ethical standards were achieved in this study by anonymity and confidentiality. The researcher used pseudonyms instead of real names to preserve anonymity. Also, at the interviews, she promised not to disclose any information that the respondent would like to keep secret. Although the specific incidence of an interviewee asking not to have something that she had said included in the written or audio record were rare, the researcher never broke her word and kept such information strictly confidential.

3. The purpose of research. Feminist researchers often claim that their research is not only *about* women, but *for* women (Harding, 1987). It means that the main beneficiaries of research should be the researched. The purpose of research is not just to describe the world, but to help to transform the sexist society. It consists in either changing theory or bringing new topics into the discipline, in raising the consciousness of women, in producing data that will stimulate or support political action or policy decisions (Gunew, 1991; Michandani, 1999).

Feminism and phenomenology complement one another as methodological approaches. They are similar in certain points:

- Both focuses on the subjective experience of individuals as it has been lived;

- Both suggest careful and non-judgemental interpretation of the people's experiences by the researcher;

Feminism adds to phenomenology that the people in question are women and therefore the mainstream science, which was created by men and looks at the reality from men's perspective, is not appropriate for researching women's experiences. This statement reflects the principle of "bracketing" from existent theory, used in phenomenology (Cope, 2005).

Phenomenology adds to feminism an active role of the researcher in interpretation of the experience of the researched and making sense of it. Sense-making approach to interpretation of data will be discussed further in the chapter in section 4.3.1 (p. 122).

Both phenomenological and feminist perspectives tend to be more compatible with qualitative methodology (Cope, 2005; Letherby, 2003). Qualitative methodology is, therefore, discussed in more detail in the subsequent section.

4.1.4. Qualitative methodological approach

Silverman (2004) describes qualitative methodology as an ensemble of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency (as in the case of quantitative methodology), of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.

Gartner and Birley (2002, p.387) underlines the importance of using qualitative methodology in entrepreneurship research: "It is our opinion that many substantive issues in entrepreneurship are rarely addressed, and that many of the important questions in entrepreneurship can only be asked through qualitative methods".

Qualitative methodology is traditionally described as being opposite to quantitative methodology (Silverman, 2004). While in quantitative research the aim is to prove some hypothesis or to reveal correlation between predetermined variables, qualitative methodology is used when the aim of research is to discover new sides of the phenomenon. That is why qualitative research usually does not normally have a predetermined

theoretical framework and usually uses an inductive approach, which means that the theory emerges from the findings (Silverman, 2004). Qualitative research tends to be explorative or explanative. Qualitative research focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experience and the world in which they live. The emphasis put on the perspectives of people who are studied rather than the prior concerns of the researcher brings qualitative methodology together with phenomenological approach (Silverman, 2004).

Qualitative methodology allows more flexibility for the researcher by using flexible methods of data collection and flexible strategy of data analysis. Qualitative approach often includes data collection by semi-structured or unstructured interviews. This method of data collection, which is not limited by the list of predetermined questions, allows collecting rich and specific data. The method of unstructured phenomenological interviews, used in this research, will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.1 (p. 113).

4.1.5. The methodological approach adopted for the research

In the view of the methodological approaches discussed in the previous sections this research adopts a hybrid methodology, which unites qualitative, phenomenological and feminist approaches. This classifies the research within the interpretivist paradigm and excludes as such a conceptual framework, or hypotheses. The hybrid approach brings together three areas of knowledge : gender studies, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship in a transition economy.

The researcher justifies the inclusion of a phenomenological approach on the basis that female entrepreneurship in Russia is a phenomenon and the researcher focuses on the subjective experience of Russian women entrepreneurs as perceived and interpreted by the women themselves This finds resonance with Cope's (2005) phenomenological inquiry approach (section 4.1.2, p. 106).

In addition, paying attention to gender issues, recognizing women's points of views, having a careful and respectful attitude vis-à-vis participants and highlighting the potential benefits of research about women aiming to exploit entrepreneurial opportunities, all of these approaches fit with a feminist perspective (section 4.1.3, p. 107).

The explorative nature of the research focusing on the ways in which women entrepreneurs describe their experiences requires rich and detailed data that justifies the use of qualitative methodology (section 4.1.4, p. 110).

4.2. The data collection method

The data collection method adopted for the research was interviews. The following sections will explain how interviews are used in a phenomenological inquiry (4.2.1), describe the interview design developed for this research (4.2.2) and how the sample was found (4.2.3).

4.2.1. Phenomenological interview

The interview method is the most widely used method in qualitative studies, and in the social studies in general (Silverman, 2004). For this thesis the method of in-depth semi-structured phenomenological interviews was selected, as it affords sufficient descriptive detail to illustrate how individuals live this experience and provides an understanding of the phenomenon in question (Cope, 2005). As Patton (1990) explains, a phenomenological interview method requires careful and thorough description of how people experience some phenomenon – “how they perceive it, feel about it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others” (Patton, 1990, p.104). To gather such data one must undertake in-depth interviews with people who have directly experienced the phenomenon of interest.

Interviews are special form of conversation, and no matter how structured the conversation is, all interviews are interactive. It means that the data that derives from the interview is created in the process of the interview both by the interviewer and the interviewee (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Phenomenological description of phenomena assumes a special relationship between the researcher and the researched (Cope, 2005). Subjectivity of phenomenological inquiry questions the ability of the investigator to be a neutral, impartial and detached observer. It means that what is known by the research is created through a personal and interactive relationship between the investigator and the subject of investigation (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). In this respect the phenomenological description of phenomena represents the researcher’s personal interpretation of the interpretations of the respondents.

Unstructured or semi-structured interview is highly flexible method which can produce very rich data. At the same time the interview is the method which most of the participants find comfortable, as it allows the participant to select the degree of information given and maintaining certain privacy (Mishler, 1986). Phenomenological interview assumes that the course of the dialogue is set largely by the interviewee (Thompson et al, 1989). The role of the interviewer is to provide a context in which respondents feel free to describe their experiences in detail.

Unstructured interviews enable the respondents to expand their responses, express their opinions and views. Moreover, they allow the interviewees to ask questions themselves and to introduce new topics into conversation, which had not been previewed by the researcher, but may be of great importance for the researched subject. The researcher can react to issues as they emerge during the interview and ask for further detailed information and clarification. When the question is not understood or understood incorrectly the researcher can change the wording. Mishler (1986) points out that respondents' answers are influenced by the form and wording of questions and by interviewer characteristics and suggests that variations caused by these factors should not be considered as errors but as significant data for analysis.

Holstein and Gubrium (1995) suggest the practice of active interviewing when both researcher and respondent take active part in creating the meaning. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) argue that the understanding of *how* the meaning-making process unfolds in the interview is as important as *what* is asked and said. *How* question refers to the context in which the interview take place.

During the interview the researcher has the possibility of observing the reaction of the interviewee to the questions. Such observations can add to the understanding of the participants' attitude to the subject. Also observing the body language of the respondent helps the interviewer to interpret and make sense of the data.

To this end, open-ended questions of the interview allow the researcher to listen to the language used by the respondents. An interpretative perspective suggests that language is seen as constructed by an individual's view and interaction with the world around them and that his interaction results in a sense-making process (Weick, 1999). Dougherty et al.

(2000) describes the sense-making process as a “process through which various information, insight, and ideas coalesce into something useful, or stick together in a meaningful way”. Thus, sense-making is the process through which “language, cognition and culture are interacting to produce meaning” (Watkins-Mathys, 2007). Though in this research the issue of language was eased by the fact that the researcher and the respondents speak the same language (Russian), but still has to be considered as the results of the research are reported in a different language (English). The issue of interpretation of Russian meaning into English will be discussed in the section 4.3 (p. 122) devoted to data processing and analysis.

In qualitative phenomenological interviews the sense-making process happens through the interaction between the researcher and the respondents and through discussion about the interaction of the respondents with their environment, which involves listening, observing, asking for clarification, noting the way the reaction of the respondents to questions and sometimes even listening to the voice intonation used by the interviewees in their answers (Watkins-Mathys and Shuvalova, 2007). So actually there are two sense-making processes presented in phenomenological interview: the respondents are making sense of their experiences and their environment and the researcher is making sense of the respondents’ accounts of their experiences. In this way phenomenological research can be seen as interpretation of interpretations.

In order for these interpretations to stay close to each other, as it is required by phenomenological approach (Cope, 2005) the researcher should try to achieve the shared meaning with the respondents. In order to achieve the mutual understanding of the phenomenon under study – in the case of this research of the women’s experience of starting and managing business in Russia – researchers suggest using “contextualization resources” (Welsh and Piekkari, 2006; Watkins-Mathys, 2007). These contextualization resources include a country’s political and historical development; cultural artefacts, such as popular films, anecdotes and idiomatic phrases; body language; common personal experiences, which usually do not involve shared professional discourse, but lie in the sphere of shared gender issues. Feminists also supposed that the gender of the researcher is important as only a woman can fully understand another woman (Letherby, 2003). The researcher supports this view, presuming that the respondents would not feel as free to talk and would not be so open if they were interviewed by a male interviewer.

4.2.2. Interview design.

Following a phenomenological interview approach, the interviews were not pre-structured and remained highly flexible. The interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours and focused on how women came to enter into business and the subsequent history of the business development. At the beginning of the interview the respondents were informed that the focus of the research was on their personal recollections of what stimulated them to start their own businesses and what was going on in their lives prior to that decision. The conversation then followed a loose chronological structure, as the discussion naturally moved onto what it felt like to open and run one's own business and what seems to be important for success.

The researcher let the respondents tell their stories without interrupting them. After the opening question any descriptive questions flowed from the course of the dialog and not from a predetermined path. As suggested by Thompson et al (1989, p.139) "the ideal interview format occurs when the interviewer's short descriptive questions and/or clarifying statements provide an opening for a respondents' lengthier and detailed descriptions." In practice, the fluidity of discussion tended to fluctuate during many of the interviews. At times, questions and answers flowed quite naturally and easily, while at other points the interview came to a sudden halt and a new issue began to be explored. The interview often went off in a completely new direction as a result and the chronology of events often became quite disjointed.

The only imposed structure that the interviews had was the list of themes the researcher wished to discuss. This list came from the literature review on female entrepreneurs (section 3.1) and included women's background, personal traits, circumstances surrounding the start-up, psychological motives and factors (secrets) of success. The list of prepared questions is given in Appendix 1 (p. 335). This list, however, is approximate: it changed slightly for each interview, reflecting additional background information the researcher discovered using public resources or personal contacts of the interviewee. It should be mentioned that this list of questions was used merely as a prompt in the first interviews when the researcher did not feel sufficiently confident to maintain an easily flowing conversation. The persons included in this list also helped the researcher become

more adept at managing interviews with those respondents who were very reserved and did not exhibit much initiative in leading the conversation.

Often the respondents will talk about these themes while telling their story and without the researcher asking specific questions. If some of these themes were not touched by the respondent, the researcher asked about those issues after letting the respondent tell her story. Sometimes, when a particular theme was relative to the experience the respondent was talking about, the researcher could ask a qualifying question. The wish to explore critical incidents was expressed in more familiar terms. The respondents were asked to recall their best and worst times that they had experienced in business. The conversation tended to focus on memorable events and episodes within the business.

To ensure clarity of questions, theoretical language was avoided and more everyday terms were used. Most of the interviews were conducted at the respondents' place of work, normally in a quiet office. Exceptions included respondents' apartment or public places, such as cafes and restaurants. One respondent (Zhanna) even asked to arrange the interview in a fitness club, while she was training on the cycling machine. The majority of the respondents informed their staff that they did not want to be disturbed during the interview but still answered the telephone on several occasions, which tended to interrupt the flow of the conversation. During one interview (Vera) which was conducted in a café, a friend of the respondent came unexpectedly and started to talk with the respondent, interrupting the interview for about half an hour. However, as this provided the researcher with the opportunity to listen to the conversation of two business women. Consequently, this unexpected interruption only added to the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon of female entrepreneurship, and resulted in the researcher being able to interview one more respondent.

Prior to starting the interview the respondents were interested in understanding the purpose of the research and why they were chosen. The researcher told them about her background, reasons for conducting the research and what she hoped to gain from the interview. Interestingly, several respondents were surprised that they were selected, because they did not see themselves as entrepreneurs and did not feel that they had a particularly interesting story to tell. Despite initial reservations, almost all of the respondents were quite forthcoming and shared a great deal of highly personal experiences, insights and

reflections during the interview. The level of openness, honesty and emotion showed by the respondents was both surprising and inspiring. Many respondents conveyed that reflecting and talking about their experience in business was useful for themselves, because by articulating their thoughts they could clarify the important issues of successful entrepreneurial performance. As a result the fieldwork proved to be highly enjoyable and rewarding for both the respondents and the researcher.

Most of the interviews were recorded. Before starting the recording the researcher asked each respondent if it would be convenient for her to record the conversation on the machine. Most of the respondents did not mind the use of the recorder. Only three respondents asked the researcher not to use it. During those interviews the researcher made notes of the respondents' answers. The researcher was also making some notes even during the recorded interviews, for example, when she wanted to clarify something or to develop further some theme; noticed some special reaction to a particular question; or had an idea for some new question to discuss.

The researcher noticed that though most of the respondents did not mind recording the interview, the recorder still made some of them feel a little bit inhibited. The researcher came to this conclusion, because after finishing the formal and recorded part of the interview and thanking the respondent for the interview, quite often an informal conversation would take place. Normally this informal conversation took five to fifteen minutes, but with five respondents it lasted almost an hour or even more. Although these informal conversations were usually exchanges on news, politics, culture or fashion, they also sometimes involved respondents sharing some further insights about their life and business philosophy, secrets of success, strategies to compete successfully in business. These unrecorded discussions often gave very valuable additional information, which helped the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the women's experiences.

4.2.3 The sample of women interviewed

The sample for this research was built up mainly via women's networks and referrals. Thirty five women entrepreneurs were interviewed and thirty of them were selected for the sample. The participants were gathered from three initial sources:

- Personal network of friends and family network in Moscow;
- Through the women's organisations "Business women of Russia" and "Vernal";
- The heroines of the book of Borovoi (2004) "Twelve most successful", describing the life stories of twelve women entrepreneurs.

Additionally, one pilot interview was conducted with Elena Shuvalova – the mother of the author. This pilot interview was not included into the data analysis, as she was not an entrepreneur, who opened her own company, but was appointed as a director of a small company, founded by the top management of a big holding concern, where Elena was employed. This interview, moreover, was very informal. Its purpose was mainly for training, to hone the researcher's interviewing skills, rather than to collect actual data about entrepreneurial women.

In choosing the participants for this study "purposeful" sampling was used (Patton, 1990, p.169), which means that it was based on selecting "information-rich cases for study in depth." "Snowball or chain" sampling was also used, which "identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich, that is, good examples for study, good interview subjects" (Patton, 1990, p.182). Five women interviewed were deselected from the sample for the following reasons: two interviews were impossible to decipher because of the very poor quality of recordings; one woman was a leader of a non-governmental organisation that co-ordinated activity of different women's NGOs and dealt mainly with social and political issues rather than business matters; one woman was deselected because she left her unsuccessful business as she did not have enough faith and disposition to entrepreneurship; one woman interviewed was not an entrepreneur, but a researcher (Chirikova), who conducted several studies on Russian women entrepreneurs – her opinion, however, was most valuable in conducting this study and her works were included in the literature review.

The sample for this research includes women entrepreneurs from different industries, both traditional and non-traditional for women. The researcher was trying to find women who stand out from the typical stereotype of a business lady in Russia, which portrays her either as a wife of a rich man or as a tough unattractive “monster” and “a man in skirt” (Sukovataya, 2002). It must be stressed that the sample was not chosen to be representative of the huge diversity of individuals who can be termed “entrepreneurial”. Each respondent was chosen for the unique and highly interesting story that they bring to the research process. Such choice of sample follows the advice of Stake (1995, p.243): “The researcher examines various interests in the phenomenon, selecting a case of some typicality, but leaning towards those cases that seem to offer the opportunity to learn.”

Table 4.1 presents personal details of the women interviewed. Keeping in line with the ethical principles, proclaimed by feminist methodology, pseudonyms are used to respect the respondents’ confidentiality. Regarding the size, according to the Recommendation of European Commission for defining micro, small and medium enterprises (2003), enterprise is classified as micro if it employs less than 10 employees, small – from 11 to 50 employees, and medium – from 51 to 250 employees. Therefore those enterprises which employ more than 250 employees are considered to be big.

Table 4.1. List of respondents

	Pseudonym	Business	Started	Located	Size*	No of employees
1	Marina	Audit company	1996	Moscow	S	25
2	Ludmila	Audit company	1997	Moscow	S	30
3	Elena	Audit company	2004	Moscow	Mi	6
4	Vitaliya	Clinic of stomatology and neurology	1993	Moscow	S	20
5	Nadezhda	Clinic for food allergy testing	1999	Moscow	S	15
6	Irina	Sewing shop	2004	Moscow	S	25
7	Diana	Big holding (construction, real estate, machinery construction, petrochemical plant, trade, banking)	1988	Moscow	B	6000
8	Oksana	Tourist company	1993	Moscow	Me	80
9	Tatyana	IT and soft-ware company	1987	Moscow	B	2500
10	Valeriya	Fleet of taxis and service center	2001	Moscow	B	400
11	Natalya	Leasing company	2003	Moscow	S	45
12	Nastya	Atelier	2004	Moscow	Mi	6
13	Olga	Advertising agency	1999	Moscow	S	40
14	Darya	Alliance of American and Russian Women, Committee of 20	2000	Moscow	Mi	3
15	Lidiya	Piano renewal and sale	2003	Moscow	S	12
16	Zhanna	Design bureau	2006	Moscow	Mi	4
17	Galina	Tea shop, vegetarian restaurant	1991	Moscow	Mi	3
18	Lubov	Business women of Russia, audit	1993	Moscow	S	40
19	Viktoriya	Printing trades	1993	Moscow	B	5000
20	Larisa	Consulting company	1999	Perm	S	20
21	Alla	Confectionary	2000	Tula	S	35
22	Svetlana	Wine shop	2005	Moscow	Mi	6
23	Elizaveta	Internet shop	2004	Moscow	Mi	1
24	Valentina	Note publishing	1999	Moscow	Me	100
25	Polina	Juridical firm	2006	Moscow	S	40
26	Veronika	Theatre	2005	Moscow	S	25
27	Vera	Club system for women	2001	Moscow	S	15
28	Yuliya	Fur salon	2002	Moscow	Me	60
29	Alisa	Mother's beauty contests	1996	Moscow	Mi	5
30	Klavdiya	Puppet master	2002	Moscow	Mi	7

* Mi – Micro; S – Small; Me – Medium; B – Big

4.3. Data processing and data analysis

4.3.1 Translation – sense-making approach

After the interview were conducted and before starting the data analysis the recordings were fully transcribed. They were transcribed in Russian and then translated into English. While at the data collection stage the issue of language was not essentially important, it became of particular importance at the stage of data processing, as it involved interpretation when putting it into English.

As it was mentioned in section 4.2.1 (p. 115) language is a “relationship between the name and the bearer” (Watkins-Mathys, 2007) and meaning of the words depends on the context they are used. Also, as words can have several meanings and can be used in different contexts, it is important not only to know the object, the word signifies, but also “the word picture or the metaphors” (Watkins-Mathys, 2007). These metaphorical meanings of the words very rarely transcend from one language to another. The word in two languages, which signifies the same object, will often have different metaphorical meanings. Watkins-Mathys (2007) develops this idea by stating that “comparability, through word for word translation or objective equivalence, is not possible because each individual and the language they use interacts differently with their environment and produces meaning from their own subjective perspective” (Watkins-Mathys, 2007, p.214).

Indeed, metaphors, as well as idioms can almost never be translated literally. As some Russian idioms do not have an English equivalent, the researcher was faced with the choice of either reducing the meaning to a simpler word, depriving the translation from poetry and colour, or giving a long commentary, which explains the meaning of the phrase and the context it is used. In both cases the sense-making process suffered. If the metaphor or idiom is reduced in translation to a simpler word, it loses some of its meaning, because a respondent usually uses a metaphor or an idiom not just to embellish the language but to add specific meaning to her words or to convey her attitude to the discussed subject. This specific meaning or attitude is quite hard to grasp and explain in other words. And giving a commentary on the context, the idiom or metaphor is used, does not always help, because

sometimes there are several contexts the idiom can be used and the researcher cannot always tell for sure in which of the context it was used by a respondent. And sometimes the idiom is based on the play on words, which is very hard to explain to someone who does not speak Russian (Watkins-Mathys and Shuvalova, 2007).

Despite these difficulties, the researcher used “contextualising resources” (Welsh and Piekkari, 2006; Watkins-Mathys, 2007; section 4.2.1, p. 115) to help achieve a meaning.

4.3.2 Data analysis

The methods of data analysis for this research were suggested by the logic of phenomenological inquiry, qualitative methodology and sense-making approach.

Many authors suggest starting the qualitative data analysis at the same time as the data is collected (Silverman, 2004). Initial analysis of data in the process of transcription of the interviews is used in phenomenological form of inquiry (Cope, 2005). This initial analysis was described by Cope (2005) as a personal sense-making process, which involves “getting to know each participant” (Cope, 2005, p.178).

Silverman (2004) calls the processes of data collection and data analysis interactive. This interactive approach helps to shape the direction of data collection, especially when research is carried out inductively. This approach allows us to recognise the important themes, patterns and relationships in the process of data collecting and to adjust the future data collection process. As outlined in the previous section the interviewer began this interactive data collection and data analysis process by asking the respondents for clarification or expansion of certain points.

As the qualitative data is non-standardised they need further classification into categories before they can meaningfully analysed (Silverman, 2004). Phenomenological strategy starts the analysis without fixed categories and builds these categories in the simultaneous process of data collection and analysis.

This procedure includes several stages:

- Familiarisation with the data;
- Making sense of the data;
- Identification of thematic framework and content analysis;
- Categorisation and coding;
- Finding relationships between categories;
- Developing the themes contained in the categories and generating ideas;
- Comparing generated ideas with the existing literature.

(Adapted from Stauss and Corbin, 1994; Silverman, 2004; Cope, 2005)

The way this procedure was applied to the data collected for this study is outlined in the following paragraphs.

1) Familiarisation

At the familiarisation stage the researcher gets deeper knowledge of the data by listening to the recordings and rereading the transcripts (Silverman, 2004). Apart from the data that emerged from the interview itself it was necessary to recall the context of the interview. Therefore, it was useful to make some comments about the person interviewed, the setting of the interview and anything that occurred during the interview and that might affect the nature of the data collected. These comments helped to analyse the meaning of what had been said and to interpret the data.

The characteristics of the language used by the respondents were also noted at this stage, as these characteristics can convey some insight about the respondents' personality, background and professionalism. Specific terminology used in conversations can disclose information about their business skills and about their knowledge of the industry, in which they are working. While articulate and well-educated language of most of the respondents confirmed that they had received a good general education, they differed in the terms of using professional language. Only ten respondents of thirty used business, management and finance terminology extensively, which showed that they have some specific business education or at least have done some business training. This guess-work based on the language analysis was confirmed by the answers of the respondents.

2) *Making sense of the data*

At the second stage of data analysis the researcher made sense of the accounts of the respondents. If at the first stage of the sense-making process, which took place during the interview, the goal was to achieve shared understanding, at the second stage the meaning, shared between the researcher and the respondent, was completed by the researcher's nonverbal observations, her attempts to understand the subtext of the answers and her general knowledge of the research topic and understanding of the social context to produce a synthesized interpretation of the respondents' accounts. This process involved using "contextualizing resources" (Welsch and Piekkari, 2006), which were mentioned in section 4.2.1 (p. 115), which helped to place the individual stories of the respondents within a more general context of Russian business environment. In these terms the literature on Russian female entrepreneurs and development of entrepreneurship in Russia, as well as the researcher's knowledge about Russian business context were helpful.

3) *Identification of thematic framework and content analysis*

The next stage begins from identifying the key issues, concepts and topics and relating the data to these topics. At this stage producing a summary of the interview helped to identify key points and principal themes that emerged from the interview. The summary also helped to identify relationships between themes.

This stage also involved cross-interview comparisons and "detective work" (Mintzberg, 1983). The purpose of this work is to find out what is common and what is particular in each interview. This stage of analysis leads to the identification of general and unique phenomenological themes for all the interviews (Hyener, 1985). In methodological terms this was the beginning of more detailed content analysis (Patton, 1990). Content analysis involves "identifying coherent and important examples, themes and patterns in the data", looking for "quotations or observations that go together, that are examples of the same underlying idea, issue or concept" (Patton, 1990, p.149).

4) Categorisation

The next stage of analysis had for its purpose categorisation of the data, which means disaggregating of the mass of collected data into meaningful and related parts or categories. Categorisation allows rearranging and analysing the data systematically and rigorously (Silverman, 2004)

Strauss and Corbin (1994) suggest three main sources to derive names for the categories:

- Terms that emerge from the data;
- Actual terms used by respondents – “in vivo” codes;
- Terms used in the theory or literature.

When using a phenomenological approach, initially the categories are descriptive. As the research develops the categories become more hierarchically organized. The larger categories have sub-categories and sub-sub-categories so that they form a tree. Then the tree of categories is used to analyse the linkages and interpretation of data.

The researcher made categorisation of the data through the process of coding using NVivo soft-ware.

5) Coding

The researcher used NVivo soft-ware as a tool for coding, organising and classifying the data. The technique of using NVivo was suggested by the programme’s tutorial. Coding included several steps.

First, researcher coded pieces of data, relating each of them to one or more categories, and thus creating free nodes. After several interviews were coded in this way, the researcher started looking for the other passages in the interviews which can be coded into free nodes. Then the free nodes were organized into a system of nodes by constructing the trees of nodes. That was done either by uniting free nodes under a tree node, or by dividing a free node into several children nodes. At the next stage the researcher explored children and free nodes and coded inside this node. When the nodes were organized into the system of trees the researcher gave every tree node a description which represented the summary of

information that this node contains. Appendix 2 (p. 338) outlines the structure of the nodes, build at this stage of data analysis.

6) **Relating categories, developing themes and generating ideas**

On the next stage of analysis the patterns were discovered during the analysis of relationship between categories. This stage of analysis involved “clustering” together evidence that confirms emergent relationships (Hyener, 1985). The researcher developed and reflected on the themes and patterns emerged from the categories and achieved a deeper understanding of the women entrepreneurial experience. The tables were used to cluster themes and highlight common patterns. To maintain an inductive approach and phenomenological principles, emergent theoretical propositions were written up from the data, without the use of relevant theoretical literature. This allowed the respondents to speak for themselves and to preserve the authenticity of the initial conclusions.

7) **“Enfolding literature”**

The final level of analysis involved what Eisenhardt (1989) describes as “enfolding literature”. As he argues “an essential part of theory building is comparison of emergent concepts and hypotheses with the extent literature, which involves asking what is this similar to, what does it contradict, and why” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p.544). Though this research does not intend to produce any theory, the process of comparing the researcher’s ideas with the existent literature allowed to place this research within the field of entrepreneurship research and to determine the contributions to knowledge within the field it has made.

4.4. Limitations of research methodology

The methodology adopted for this research has certain risks to be considered.

Lack of the predetermined interview framework

One limitation of the methodology adopted is that the researcher does not impose any rigid or pre-existing framework on the interview process. This represents a methodological risk as participants are given an appreciable amount of control during the interviews. As the interviews were conducted in the form of conversation rather than question and answer session, the data collection process was largely indeterminate and had to be “played by ear” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

The freedom given to the participants was called by Cope (2005) “a daunting prospect” for the research as she had to enter the interview rather exposed and “empty-handed”. However, such an uninhibited conversation enabled the participants to relax and narrate their experiences more fully, providing an unparalleled depth of information about the phenomenon in question. This issue of control is particularly significant in phenomenological terms, because the researcher has to relinquish control in order to open herself to the phenomenon in its own right (Cope, 2005).

Also the free form of the interview sometimes confused the respondents because of the preconceptions they had of what interview consists of. They expected that they would be asked a series of questions during the interaction with the researcher. A phenomenological interview does not fulfil such expectation, as the participant is required to play a very active role during the interview, as the dialogue generated during the discussion forms the basis for any subsequent questions that are asked by the interviewer (Cope, 2005). Therefore, phenomenological interview can often be quite unstructured and appear to lack coherence.

Ethical issues

Because feminist methodology is concerned with ethics (Letherby, 2003) and suggests being especially careful and respectful towards the participants of research (section 4.1.3, p. 107), the researcher found it difficult to discuss certain issues which could be uncomfortable for the respondents.

One particular issue that came from the researcher's observations seemed to be quiet problematic in the terms of ethics. This issue concerns the observation that women entrepreneurs are often lonely, unmarried or unhappy in the family life. Some of the respondents were not in a relationship, or complained about their partners and husbands. Probably those men are not to be blamed for this discontent, as they could not be assumed to be worse or more difficult to deal with than the statistically average Russian man. It seems a fair assessment to assign at least a portion of this dissatisfaction to the intrinsically high requirements and performance standards of women entrepreneurs: having achieved much in their professional life, successful business ladies wanted to share their lives with men whose social, intellectual and professional achievements more closely matched their own high standards.

The researcher tried to find out if there was any causal relationship between their loneliness and their choice to be entrepreneurs, and whether women's perceptions of heightened loneliness was caused by their involvement in business. After all, non-entrepreneurial women also experience loneliness, very often in spite of being married or 'happily attached' and comfortably established in their social circle. The relationships of women entrepreneurs with men and the interplay of their business/professional and private/family life seemed to be an interesting dimension that could have been explored. However, this question proved to be quite difficult to talk about with the respondents and was eliminated for three reasons:

Firstly, the researcher did not have sufficient and reliable data to bring this issue into the thesis. Secondly, feminist ethics, which obliges not to harm the participants of the research, and the researcher's own discretion did not allow her to insist on discussing those issues which the respondents felt uncomfortable to talk about. The data collection method chosen – phenomenological interview – also implies that the researcher should not insist on

discussing any issues apart from those which were raised by the interviewees themselves. And thirdly, the researcher was aware of operating in a patriarchal society, which overrates family values and “success” in finding a good husband in comparison with the values of professional life and success in career. In such a patriarchal society, as Russian society is, people cannot believe that a woman can be happy without being married or having a relationship, and can be fully satisfied and fulfilled with her beloved work or other pursuits. Whether this is true or not is not the question of this thesis (although feminists would agree that this belief is a delusion, inculcated by men, and shared by women with traditional mindsets). But these patriarchal stereotypes should be borne in mind when considering whether the solitude or even outright loneliness of women entrepreneurs is an unfortunate, undesirable, “unhappy” consequence -- something sacrificed in exchange for their successful career in business – or whether their decision to be single is their own free choice and personal disposition.

Subjective interpretation

As the women accounts were considered by the research as stories about their experiences and not as facts, there is a risk of misinterpretation which can be made by the respondents themselves. The subjectivity of experience implies that what is truth for one respondent cannot be truth for another and I have to be careful with extrapolation of my data.

Moreover, the researcher makes her own interpretation of the stories of the respondents. As it has been discussed in section 4.2.1 (p. 115) language is “contextual, relational and individual” (Watkins-Mathys, 2007). It means that everyone understands the words slightly differently, puts different meaning behind them. And some words that indicate complex ideas as love, responsibility, motivation etc. can be understood and used in a very different way from one person to another. Though the researcher tried to be precise what each respondent meant by the complex notions they talked about, there was no opportunity to go deep into those discussion because of the restricted time. The risk is that the research and the respondent understood those concepts in a different way.

The researcher used the third person not because she tried to conceal that she was bringing her own interpretations into data analysis, but because she was convinced by her

supervisors and by the literature (Oliver, 2002) that using the third person is an established tradition in academic writing, regardless of the subjective methodological paradigm and phenomenological approach adopted for this research. Using the third person also matched with the researcher's habit of being somewhat self-effacing.

The respondents' insincerity or delusions

While telling their stories the respondents could be either insincere on purpose (for example, in order to show themselves better than they as actually almost all people do), either dreaming up unconsciously and taking what they would like to be the truth for the truth (as also many of people do).

The question what is truth and what is real is very unclear – is there a reality that is common for everybody and that exists independently of our beliefs or the truth is what we believe. According to the views of my respondents the truth is what you believe. This view fits well with the interpretivist paradigm (section 4.1.1, p. 103) and phenomenological approach (section 4.1.2, p. 106).

However, the sincerity of the respondents in expressing this point of view can be questioned. To reduce the risk of insincerity the researcher explained the respondents that the purpose of the research is to write a PhD dissertation and that this dissertation is written for British university and not for Russian press. The research presumes that those respondents, who had no reason to be over-suspicious and had nothing terrible to conceal, were quite sincere. So in spite of some restrictions the accounts of respondents can be taken as authentic.

Non-representative sample

The sample selected for this research is limited in numbers and geographically (section 4.2.3, p. 119), which means that the findings are limited to the stories of these individual women in the Moscow area and questions their representability (Silverman, 2004). The representability of the sample is also restricted because the sample of the respondents included only successful women entrepreneurs. This sample does not give an opportunity of generalisation for all Russian women entrepreneurs, as Moscow is the centre of business activity and the opportunities of business creation are more numerous in Moscow. Also, as the capital of the country, Moscow absorbs social change the most quickly, which means that traditional view on the entrepreneurship as an inappropriate occupation for women is less persistent than in the regions. However, it does not mean that the women entrepreneurs in Moscow have to make less efforts to succeed, as the competition in Moscow increases

pro rata or even more with the increase of opportunities. Geographical restriction of the sample should not limit the findings concerning personality and motivation, as though almost all the respondents are doing business in Moscow, a quarter of them came from other cities.

Non-neutral attitude of the researcher towards the respondents

The researcher, as a person, was very impressed by the respondents and highly admired them. This could lead to the tendency to over-evaluate the respondents' good qualities and achievements and to under value their demerits and failures.

Rapt attitude of the research towards the respondents presumably was noticed by the respondents and could encourage them to represent themselves in a high-coloured light, concealing some dark sides of their experience in order not to disappoint the researcher in her high expectations.

4.5. Conclusions

This chapter has outlined and compared the main philosophical paradigms and assumptions which underpin methodological choices in qualitative research in entrepreneurship. Although in recent times there has been evidence of more interpretivist approaches to entrepreneurship research, inquiry within this paradigm is still very much emergent. The researcher's choice of interpretivist paradigm was driven first of all by the desire to gain rich insights into the activities and perceptions of entrepreneurial individuals. In doing so, the researcher hopes that the approach adopted may contribute towards the proliferation of diverse research perspectives and greater paradigmatic experimentation within the entrepreneurship domain, as encouraged by Grant and Perrin (2002).

The methodology adopted for this research can be described as:

- Subjective and interpretivistic, as it emphasizes subjective experiences of the women entrepreneurs and deals with the researcher's participation in making meaning of the women's interpretations of their experiences;

- Phenomenological, as it regards the women's experience as phenomenon and describes this phenomenon as it was perceived by the women themselves and from their point of view;
- Feminist, as it stresses the women's experience and recognizes the importance of gender and ethical issues;
- Qualitative, as it tends to be descriptive, explorative and explanative, and does not aim to test any hypotheses;

The researcher chose in-depth phenomenological interviews as the method of data collection, as this seemed an appropriate method that will provide rich descriptions of the experiences from the participant's point of view. These interviews were relatively unstructured and encouraged active participation of the interviewees as the respondents were given freedom to lead the dialogue. The process of interviewing involved sense-making by the respondents and the researcher and utilisation of contextualizing resources to arrive at shared meaning. The sample for the interviews was selected through the snowball method and mainly through the researcher's personal network and the women's organisations. This sample does not intend to be representative, but rather to include information rich stories of individual female entrepreneurs in the Moscow area.

The data analysis strategy was guided by the principles of qualitative and phenomenological approaches. It has several stages, including interpretation and sense-making of the respondents' accounts, content analysis, categorisation, coding, conceptualisation and relation to the existent literature on the field. Finally, in-keeping with the above outlined approach, the researcher did not develop a conceptual framework for the research.

PART II:
RESEARCH FINDINGS
AND DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction to the findings and data analysis

In keeping with the methodological approach adopted by the researcher, which is based on the thematic description of the women entrepreneurs' subjective experience (section 4.1.5, p. 111), the subsequent data chapters in this part are organized around the themes raised by the respondents during the interviews.

Three major themes emerged during the interviews: the women's personality and biography; the women's motivation to start-up and develop businesses; and factors attributed by the women to their successful entrepreneurial performance. Therefore, the first data chapter (chapter 5) is devoted to the women's background and personal traits; the second data chapter (chapter 6) describes the circumstances of the start-up and motivation; and the third data chapter (chapter 7) discusses the factors of success.

Each chapter is followed by a theoretical discussion based on the themes raised by the women and with regard to the theoretical review presented by the author in chapter 3 of the thesis.

CHAPTER 5. PERSONALITY

Introduction

This chapter focuses on Personality and discusses the following themes and issues:

1. Personal qualities and background of the women entrepreneurs; and
2. Personal traits.

These themes were uncovered when women were talking about themselves, their character, their merits and demerits, their past, the time of their studies and working experience, their relations with parents, partners, friends, colleagues and employers. The insights into the women's personality were also gained through discussions about their values and beliefs, life philosophy, fears and dreams, as it is suggested by the methodology of phenomenological interviews (section 4.3.1 and 4.3.2).

As it has been mentioned in the introduction, defining personal traits of the women entrepreneurs is important in exploring the distinctiveness of Russian women entrepreneurs and explaining the motivations of the women entrepreneurs. Their individual stories emphasized certain personal characteristics, which were shared by many of the sample interviewed. These are discussed in greater detail in the chapter.

Included in the section on Personal Qualities (5.1) is a discussion of the women's background with regards to their up-bringing, education and work experience. In the section on Personal Traits (5.2) a number of aspects relating to the women's character, skills, values, merits and demerits, as perceived by the women themselves.

The chapter looks at the nodes grouped under the node "Biographical data", "Personality" and "Attitudes".

“Biographical data” include the following sub-nodes:

- Youth
- Parents
- Education
- Employee’s experience
- Managerial experience
- Idol

The nodes grouped under the tree node “Personality” include:

- Self-description
- Merits
- Demerits
- Skills
- Intuition
- Independence
- Fate
- Views and believes
- Life philosophy
- Leadership
- Values

The nodes grouped under the tree node “Attitudes” include:

- Work
- Risk
- Education
- Profession
- Failure
- Money
- Men
- Husband

The structure of the sub-headings does not correspond to the structure of the nodes: some of the sub-sections are based on the analysis of more than one node and some nodes are used in more than one sub-section. The particular way I deal with the nodes is outlined in the Tables at the beginning of each section. The first section (5.1) follows chronological order of events in the women's life. The second section (5.2) has no particular logic in the order of sub-headings, which are organised as enumeration of the women's traits.

The third section (5.3) analyzes the data presented in the first two sections relating the findings to the literature. In the light of the issues and themes that emerge from the data analysis the discussion section focuses on the theory of human capital and the trait approach, and theoretical implications that emerge from the data analysis on personal qualities and personal traits.

The final section (5.4) draws some conclusions, giving the summary of key findings and their theoretical implications.

5.1. Background

This section describes the women’s background, or more precisely, the women’s life before they became entrepreneurs. It covers their upbringing, relationships with parents, education and work experience. In-keeping with the data analysis approach outlined in the methodology (section 4.3.2, p. 123) this section is based on the analysis of nodes, grouped under the tree-node “Biographical data”. Table 5.1 illustrated which sub-nodes were used in each sub-section.

Table 5.1. Sub-nodes describing the women’s background

Sub-heading	Nodes
Upbringing	Youth, parents, idol
Education	Education
Work experience	Employer’s experience; managerial experience

5.1.1. Upbringing

The parents of the women entrepreneurs interviewed usually were from professional intelligentsia and worked in engineering, scientific or medical field. The women entrepreneurs were usually the only child or had no more than one brother or sister, as their parents could not afford to support more children.

The description of the women and their upbringing and relationship with their parents fell largely into two different styles. These styles, although opposed to one another, nevertheless seemed to lead to the development of a strong personality and qualities, which helped the women later in business.

Over-protective upbringing

The first style can be called “over-protective” in the words of Elena. Over-protective parents surrounded their children with care and attention and protected them from troubles. Svetlana recalled: “I was living with my parents... was an only child - most loved, most beautiful, a princess.” However, parents did not spoil their children, as they also demanded a lot from them and pinned great hopes on them, believing that their children

should have a better future than their own. They wanted their child to achieve great results in a particular, or even several, spheres such as for example, their studies, sport, music etc.

Parents encouraged their child to be an excellent pupil, to attend different clubs and hobby groups; often they placed the child into a specialized school for mathematics, physics or languages: “My parents told me that I should be top and that I must not be satisfied with “good” marks. When I had “good” marks my mother did not even allow me to go for a walk.” Over-protective parents did not let their child have much freedom and kept them busy with their studies. Nadezhda claimed that she was brought-up in a style of the “Institute of noble damsels”, and “while other children walked and played” she “was sitting at home with a French manual.”

Such an upbringing helped the women entrepreneurs to develop qualities which they thought to be useful in business. First, it gave the women a strong work ethic and commitment to work. Secondly, such an upbringing made them into well-educated and well-read women and taught them discretion, self-control and perseverance. This they believed helped them to make a good impression on others: “I understood that the most important thing is to create a first good impression. And I could do it because I am a well-educated girl. ... I read a lot, I have an interesting family, we talked a lot in our house. Later I understood that this is important. And at that time it was second nature to me” (Ludmila).

Although the women confessed to being irritated by their over-protective parents in their youth, they later appreciated the contribution made by their parents in helping them to acquire their knowledge and skills. Having gained knowledge from diverse spheres, the women became well-educated and capable of understanding and analyzing many different situations. Diana’s father was an international journalist, he travelled all over the world and told his daughter about life abroad, politics and culture: “Listening to father’s stories and seeing photos I started to comprehend the differences between developed and developing countries and began to doubt the unconditional superiority of communism over capitalism, which I was taught at school.” These discussions with father opened her eyes to the processes happening in Soviet Union and gave her the interest in, and general understanding of, the world economy. She was among the first Russian people to open a private enterprise in Soviet Union – a cooperative.

Thirdly, as a consequence of their over-protective upbringing the women were persuaded that in order to succeed they needed to achieve, and in order to achieve they needed to work hard. So, the women perceived a strong connection between success and achievement, and between achievement and hard work. The parents' belief for them to become successful became their own motivation and driving force.

However, some women brought up in this way also identified disadvantages of such an over-protective up-bringing. By restricting interaction with peers during childhood and by carefully selecting their friends, parents made it difficult for those women to adapt easily in a collective environment. Often they felt uncomfortable at their work place, found it hard to talk to people, other than from their particular circle of friends. This inability to adapt in a work collective, and the women's sometimes uncompromising attitude, resulted in them starting up their own business so that they might organize their life and business as they saw fit and, which suited their purpose.

But sometimes parents instead of encouraging their daughters to strive for success, prevented them from doing so, teaching them instead modesty and humbleness. This style of upbringing is also overprotective, but instead of protecting children from misfortunes and dangers, it shielded them from striving for success and achievements. Those women succeeded in spite of their parents will, who urged them to be more modest in their desires. Elizaveta rebelled against the humble philosophy of her mother: "My mother who grew up in certain circumstances always told me to be satisfied with what you have and not to stand out among the crowd. She restrained herself and me in my ambitions - it was the influence of living in Soviet times when it was safer for everyone to conform and stay quiet. I never liked these restrictions. I didn't want to be satisfied with what I had." Klavdiya's mother tried to persuade her daughter to become a housewife: "She thought that the main goal for a woman was to marry and to bring up children. I always wanted something more ambitious for myself."

"Laissez-faire" upbringing

The second style of upbringing can be called "laissez-faire". Parents taking this approach were preoccupied too much with their own life and did not pay much attention to their

children. It does not mean that they did not love them or treated them badly – they just let their children do what they wanted and let them solve their problems on their own. Sometimes it meant an absence of intimacy. Nastya complained: “My parents did not spend much time with me. I saw my father rarely and perceived him as a kind of an uncle. Mother was a doctor, she liked to travel in her younger days and she spent much time at work. So, it was my grandmother who brought me up.” However, usually the women liked the freedom they had and did not feel a lack of love. Oksana appreciated the easy-going relationship that she had with her parents, who let her mature quite early: “My parents were quite distant. We never had arguments. They did not keep a close eye on me. And that was good. I have been quite independent since I was 11.”

Reflecting on this style of upbringing Irina thought that girls, who are given freedom in their youth, become independent. They learn to make decisions from a very young age and to pursue their own objectives. They chose the subject they want to study, the way they spend their free time and finally the life they want to live (as far as it was possible in a socialist country). These women were deprived of material support from their parents from quite young age and had to find ways to earn their living. Often the women from such families started to work part time early in order to earn pocket money: “I was a very independent child: I worked part time at school and had a romance with a teacher” (Olga). Galina started her first “business” when she was fourteen: she sold lipsticks with a friend at the railway station (a common place for small black market trading). She remembered that it was “very scary, but also encouraging as it made me feel adult and grand.”

The absence of control allowed the women to choose their acquaintances independently. Usually those women had numerous and various friends. These diverse interactions made the women more social and easily adaptable in their private life; and the lack of attention from parents taught them to value their relationships with other people stronger. This sociability, practicality, independence as well as the habit to make their own decisions and to be responsible for themselves, which was developed in youth, proved useful later, when the women became entrepreneurs.

Table 5.2 shows that from 30 respondents 11 reported that they were brought up in the “laissez-faire” (LF) style and 11 – in the “over-protective” (OP) style. Eight respondents (N) did not identify any particular style of upbringing, calling their family relationships

normal, ordinary, or neutral. By this they implied that their parents did not control them too much and gave them attention without restricting their freedom. Although the two main styles mentioned are different, neither of them let the women grow up spoiled. To be spoiled was not particularly prevalent at that time, as not many people were rich enough to spoil their children. Both “over-protective” and “laissez-faire” styles taught women that if they wanted the “good life” they would have to achieve it on their own. The difference was that the women brought up in an over-protective environment were taught what “good life” means by their parents, who mapped out their lives. Those women brought up in a “laissez-faire” way decided themselves how they wanted to live and set their own goals.

Table 5.2. Upbringing

Name	Style of education	Only child	Intimacy
Marina	OP	+	Mother
Ludmila	OP	+	Mother
Elena	OP	+	Mother
Vitaliya	N	+	Farther
Nadezhda	OP	+	Mother
Irina	LF		N
Diana	OP		Farther
Oksana	LF		Farther
Tatyana	OP	+	Farther
Valeriya	OP		Farther
Natalya	OP		Mother
Nastya	LF		N
Olga	LF	+	Farther
Darya	N		Mother
Lidiya	LF		Farther
Zhanna	LF	+	Farther
Galina	LF	+	N
Lubov	LF	+	Farther
Viktoriya	N	+	Farther
Larisa	OP		Farther
Alla	N		Mother
Svetlana	OP	+	Mother
Elizaveta	OP	+	Mother
Valentina	N	+	N
Polina	N		Mother
Veronika	LF	+	Mother
Vera	N		Mother
Yuliya	LF	+	N
Alisa	LF		N
Klavdiya	N		Mother

Leaders in the family and role models

Most of the families were patriarchal – it means that the father was the head of the household, although both husband and wife worked. Some of the women, who saw, that because of the dominance of the father, the mother could not develop herself personally, wanted their own family to be different. This may have been one of the hidden motives that made them strive for a successful and important activity, which, even if it did not give the women dominance, at least gave them equality with their husband: “If one person is suppressed by the other, it is not right. And in normal families the question, who is the head of the household, should not arise” (Tatyana).

Thirteen respondents said that they had a closer relationship with their mothers, and 11 – with their father. Others admitted that they did not have close relationship with either of their parents. Those women who had a closer relationship with their father often admired the leadership and entrepreneurial qualities that they saw in him: “My father, who worked at a factory, was a very creative person: he wrote poems, organized cultural events with artists, and organized entertainment for children. He was a role model for me” (Zhanna). For Alisa her role model was her great-grandfather: “I studied my family tree and found out that my great-grandfather was a peasant, he worked the soil. He had 11 children and all of them had a good education. My grandfather was a doctor and he had a chain of pharmacies before the Revolution. And all my ancestors achieved a lot in their lives: became doctors or top professionals. I wanted to set the same example for my grandchildren.”

Most of the women did not have any idols and thought that an entrepreneur should never try to copy anyone else. However, they did not exclude the possibility of learning from other people. Sometimes the women chose as a role model a leader of other men. Galina was influenced by the leader of her buddhistic church: “Our spiritual leader was very entrepreneurial: in order to promote buddhistic philosophy he paid for visiting preachers from money earned from selling books. The idea was to earn money for spiritual ends.” She admired the entrepreneurial qualities in this person, not the money-making aspect, but rather she appreciated his entrepreneurial wit and inner spirituality.

Diana admired people from whom she can learn: “I met several persons in my life who impressed me with their wisdom, emotional intelligence and delicacy. It is very important for your personal development to have around yourself interesting people, from whom you can learn something.” Valeriya admired a former Russian prime-minister Viktor Chernomirdin (1992-1998), with whom she worked, for him being a “person of action”, getting things done and giving clever advice and “combining intuition and knowledge.” Veronika talked about how some men inspired her interest in different subjects, including musical theatre, which became her business later. Svetlana admired the energy and strong will to live in people like doctor Dikul who helped people with spinal fractures.

Those women who had closer relationship with their mothers usually spoke of female idols. However, the qualities they seemed to admire in them were typical male qualities. Ludmila admired her colleague, a financial director of an alcohol brewing holding for her “masculine character and behaviour” and “uncompromising attitude”: “She [financial director] could have very good personal relationships with a person, but when it came down to work matters and she needed something, or had to say something unpleasant, she would not hesitate to do so and would not show any weakness.” Vera admired the perseverance of her friend, a general director of a cosmetic holding for her “constant and tireless striving to grow, to develop ... and ability to take decisions with pleasure and passion.”

Olga admired the combination of feminine appearance and masculine brains in two stars - Sharon Stone and Madonna: “They are my imaginary friends ... They are my guiding example of how you should look, how you should work.” Sometimes admiration by a woman who has held a high position in some organization encouraged the respondent to become an entrepreneur: “A distant relative of mine was one of my idols - she was the head of a HR department in a large enterprise. She was a model of beauty to me and I believed that only a leader can be a beautiful woman.” Just as Olga, Marina seemed to admire her idol’s beauty as much as her business qualities.

Natalya, who thought that it is wrong to have idols, still expressed a great respect for talented and powerful figures in the political world, both modern Russian politicians and historical personalities, such as Ekaterina the Second and Napoleon. All these examples

show that the women recognized power in its different manifestations – political, entrepreneurial, professional, spiritual and feminine – and the art of using this power.

5.1.2. Education

Most of the women studied hard at both school and later in the institute or university. Sometimes it was imposed by their parents, but often the women wanted to succeed in their studies in order to gain self-esteem, respect, recognition and authority among their co-equals and friends. Soviet ideology promoted excellent, clever and industrious students. Sometimes the reasons for studying diligently were funny. Klavdiya had naturally curly hair and was afraid of being picked on by her teacher: “Often teachers said to girls with curly hair, who did not know the answers to questions in class: “you had time to curl your hair, but not to learn the lesson.” And I was afraid that I would be asked in class and that I couldn’t answer the question - I would then feel ashamed.”

All the women interviewed had at least one higher education qualification. Table 5.3 shows the variety of subjects studied by the women and numbers of degrees obtained by the respondents. At that time it was usual for intelligentsia families to place their children in the institute or university. Natural and technical sciences were more prestigious than humanities. Programming, medicine and physics gained the biggest popularity. Those sciences were highly respected because they had a big potential to bring about new discoveries. Elena decided to study cybernetics because of its popularity among young people. Nadezhda entered the Institute for medicine, not because she wanted to become a doctor, but because she wanted to develop the science: “There was a faculty that prepared scientists. That time I read a book about the scientist who discovered penicillin. ... And I decided that science is interesting for me.” However, it was more difficult for girls to get a place at a technical Institute – even if they did well in their exams. At the entry interview boys were chosen over girls. This may account for the fact that only 11 interviewees have a degree in natural or technical sciences; 17 in human sciences and two in the arts.

Table 5.3. Education

Name	Education	Red diploma	Number of degrees	PhD
Marina	Librarian; Finance	+	2	
Ludmila	Economics and statistics; Audit	+	2	
Elena	Programming; Mathematics; Economics; MBA	+	4	+
Vitaliya	Medicine	+	1	+
Nadezhda	Medicine		1	+
Irina	Merchandizing		1	
Diana	Biochemistry	+	1	+
Oksana	Aircraft engineering		1	
Tatyana	Programming	+	1	+
Valeriya	Finance	+	1	
Natalya	Pedagogy; Law	+	2	+
Nastya	Couture		1	
Olga	Philosophy		1	
Darya	Foreign languages	+	2	
Lidiya	Music		1	
Zhanna	Architecture		1	
Galina	Statistics		1	
Lubov	Steel-casting; Accounting		2	+
Viktoriya	Journalism		1	
Larisa	Radio-engineering; Finance	+	2	
Alla	Medicine; Trade		2	
Svetlana	Transport; Sommelier school		2	
Elizaveta	Medicine; Psychology; Aromatheraphy		3	+
Valentina	Philology		1	
Polina	Law		1	
Veronika	Music		1	
Vera	Linguistics	+	1	
Yuliya	Art decoration; Economics		2	
Alisa	Geology		1	
Klavdiya	History of art	+	1	

Studying economics within a command economy such as the Soviet Union was seen as one of the least interesting subjects (Ludmila). Business and management were excluded from universities' curricula. That is why the women did not have an opportunity to acquire any entrepreneurship-specific knowledge during their studies.

Often the women's choice of education was directed not by their interest in a particular subject and the desire to work in a particular sphere, but for other reasons. Personal preferences and the prestige of a subject won over practical considerations such as job

opportunities afforded by the choice of degree. In Soviet times there were no opportunities to choose one's own career because the state assigned students to a workplace after they finished their studies. And they were often afraid that even if they chose a subject of their choice, they could be assigned to a routine boring job, where they would not be able really to use the knowledge they would have acquired. Alla wanted to study architecture or archaeology, but went to a college specializing in trade as she was afraid she would not be able to find an interesting job in the field of her interest. Vitaliya sacrificed her dream to become an actress for the more secure profession of a doctor. Sometimes there were administrative obstacles for pursuing a career to one's liking, such as the requirement to be a member of the party: Alisa, for example, was refused a chair at her institute because she was not a member of the party.

Education is one of the institutions that was frequently criticized by liberal feminists (Gunew, 1991). Liberal feminists argued that the difference between men and women is not innate but socially constructed and that women are not born feminine but learn to be feminine in the process of socialisation (De Beauvoir, 1999). They thought that the change in some social conditions, such as access to education, would lead to the change of women's position in society, and asked for equal opportunity within the existing society (Greer and Green, 2003). They want to change those ideas and institutions that keep women in disadvantaged positions without seeking any fundamental change in other social institutions. Apart from education, institutional barriers to the equality of opportunities were seen in employment, networks and access to capital. However, gender differences in these three areas seem to be partly the consequence of unequal access to education. Therefore, liberal feminists sought to improve women's achievement by removing barriers to women's participation in education and employment (Gunew, 1991).

The above obstacles highlight that the women's choice of education was at times fortuitous and not always carefully thought-out. Often after finishing school the women did not know what profession to enter. Oksana, for example, visited several institutes, which she had found in a reference book, and finally opted for the Institute for Aircraft Instrument Making, because she saw an airplane in the hall of the building: "I never thought about aircraft construction. When I entered the building of the Institute I saw the décor which reminded me of an aristocratic mansion. And in the hall I saw a small real military airplane. It was the first airplane I had ever seen in my life. Suddenly I understood that I

wanted to study there.” Many of the women chose their university because a friend was going there, or because it was close to home, or because there was a good sports club.

Although not all women chose to study what interested them most, they liked to study: “It was not the subject of my dream. But it was, nevertheless, interesting to study” (Svetlana). Most of the respondents achieved a good degree. Twelve of them obtained a “red diploma” (signifying an award of excellence of 75%). Most of the women did not find studying very difficult. Sometimes they used female charm or previous success in studies to get good marks. Alla confessed: “I made efforts only during the first exam session, and then inertia set in: teachers, when they see a student’s record book with good marks given by previous teachers tend to get an idea in their head, based on that positive evaluation, that the student is good.” Alisa was able to charm her way through her studies thanks to her attractiveness: “When a pretty girl comes into an exam room, speaks well and makes overall sense, male teachers don’t listen too much to what she is saying. So I managed to get through my studies without working too hard.”

Eleven out of 30 women have more than one degree (Table 5.3). Usually their postgraduate qualification was related to their new profession. The others without a postgraduate qualification realized what they did not know about running a company professionally. This was fairly typical for those women running a consulting or auditing company, as these businesses required specialist knowledge. Only two women (Elena and Darya) had a degree in management. Because of the shortage of time, others learned the art of management from their own experience, from their partners and sometimes from short training courses.

But sometimes some of women chose to gain a further qualification because of their interest in the subject, as it was with Elizaveta, for whom aromatherapy was a hobby. The most qualified of the women in the sample was Elena who explained her four degrees simply by the fact that she “loves to study and enjoys the very process of learning and gaining new knowledge.” For Svetlana the stimulus for advancing in her wine-tasting studies was her husband, who “was very enthusiastic about it, because he noticed that it developed my wine-tasting ability.”

Many of the women found that often their knowledge of other subjects not connected to business was nevertheless, sometimes helpful in business. Knowledge in the area of pedagogy and psychology helped them to communicate with people (Nataliya, Klavdiya, Elizaveta, Nadezhda); statistics taught them to deal with numbers (Ludmila, Elena, Galina); library science taught Marina how to order information; medicine developed analytical skills and intuition (Nadezhda and Vitaliya); mathematics and programming developed logical thinking (Elena); engineering and exact sciences helped to understand the technology of production (Larisa, Oksana, Diana).

Some of the women felt that they lacked specialist knowledge in management, finance or law and tried to fill the gaps by attending training courses and/or doing their own independent reading up on the subject. But even those women who have further qualifications understand that in a changing world they need to renew their knowledge constantly: “It is not enough to have a basic education. It is also very important to educate yourself constantly. You can’t manage a company on the basis of a degree obtained twenty years ago because you can’t base your expertise on the outdated knowledge. It is really important to up-date one’s knowledge at least once in five years” (Darya).

5.1.3. Work experience and journey to entrepreneurship

All of the respondents had work experience as an employee prior to becoming entrepreneurs, but the duration of this experience differed significantly between the women depending on the age of the woman and on the year of her starting the business. Table 5.4 shows the respondents’ work experience, indicates the number of years that they were employed, whether they had job satisfaction and whether they had managerial experience during that time of being employed.

Table 5.4 Work experience

Name	Age	Business	Start	Previous work experience	Duration in years	Job satisfaction	Managerial experience
Marina	40-50	Audit company	1996	Librarian; Accountant; Financial director	12	+	+

Name	Age	Business	Start	Previous work experience	Duration in years	Job satisfaction	Managerial experience
Ludmila	40-50	Audit company	1997	Researcher; Accountant; Financial director; Auditor	14	-	+
Elena	40-50	Audit company	2004	Programmist; Secretary; Accountant; Auditor	24	+	+
Vitaliya	30-40	Clinic of stomatology and neurology	1993	Doctor	8	-	
Nadezhda	30-40	Clinic for food allergy testing	1999	Doctor; Researcher	10	-	+
Irina	30-40	Sewing shop	2004	Expert on merchandize	14	-	
Diana	50-60	Big holding (construction, real estate, machinery construction, petrochemical plant, trade, banking)	1988	Senior researcher	18	+	+
Oksana	40-50	Tourist company	1993	Engineer	16	+	
Tatyana	50-60	IT and soft-ware company	1987	Researcher	17	+	
Valeriya	30-40	Fleet of taxis and service centre	2001	Political analyst; Financial director	8	+	+
Natalya	30-40	Leasing company	2003	Teacher; Economist; Lawyer; Director of legal department	14	+	+
Nastya	20-30	Atelier	2004		0		
Olga	40-50	Advertising agency	1999	Business-games trainer; Commercial director	20	+	+
Darya	40-50	Alliance of American and Russian Women, Committee of 20	2000	Researcher; Lecturer; Business mentor	23	+	
Lidiya	30-40	Piano	2003	Teacher	11	+	
Zhanna	30-40	Design bureau	2006	Consultant at the infrastructure department of the city administration	16	+	
Galina	30-40	Tea shop, vegetarian restaurant	1991	Technical constructor	4 months	-	
Lubov	40-50	Business women of Russia, audit	1993	Production engineer	15	+	
Viktoriya	40-50	Printing trades	1993	Editor assistant	12	+	
Larisa	40-50	Consulting company	1999	Junior researcher; Auditor	17	+	
Alla	30-40	Confectionary	2000	Nurse	3	-	
Svetlana	30-40	Wine shop	2005	Assistant	9	+	

Name	Age	Business	Start	Previous work experience	Duration in years	Job satisfaction	Managerial experience
Elizaveta	40-50	Internet shop	2004	Researcher	25	-	
Valentina	40-50	Note publishing	1999	Teacher	21	+	
Polina	20-30	Juridical firm	2006	Legal advisor	3	+	
Veronika	30-40	Theatre	2005	Singer in the musical theatre	8	+	
Vera	40-50	Club system for women	2001	Teacher	17	+	
Yuliya	30-40	Fur salon	2002	Merchant in luxury clothing; Fur-dresser	4	+	
Alisa	40-50	Mothers' beauty contests	1996	Geologist; Chief of research department	21	-	+
Klavdiya	30-40	Puppet master	2002	Teacher	6	+	

The women in the age group 40 to 50 worked between ten to twenty years before the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. After graduating they were assigned to a particular state enterprise, ministry or institute by the State. Each student was given a choice of two places and was requested to remain in post for at least three years. Changing jobs was not common during Soviet times and permission from the Ministry of Labour was needed to do so. Galina told how she used a certain amount of cunning to leave her post: "I invented a story that I had to go to another city to marry and they gave me permission to leave the job and to change my place of work. It was a miracle."

However, most of the respondents (22) liked their previous work and had to change it after the collapse of the Soviet system because the salaries were not enough to earn the living. Before the transition period commenced the women often could not even imagine that they could work anywhere other than at the place they were working: "Before I just did not think, whether I liked this work or not. I did not even think about doing anything different from what I was doing. I did not want to change anything" (Lubov). Often the women were attached to the collective: "I liked my previous work because there was a good collective there" (Marina). The works collective and the atmosphere at work were very important to the women. Depending on whether they liked the collective and the boss the women would decide to stay or leave the job: "If a boss was not enthusiastic, there was little interest for me and I did not want to stay there" (Oksana).

There were a number of reasons why the women ended up in their first job. Firstly, they wanted to explore new territory, which is why many of them were attracted to a research job: “I hoped to research into a new perspective in the field of cybernetics” (Tatyana). The women researchers wanted to make a contribution to the creation of new knowledge. Secondly, the women wanted their work to be useful, to see the results of their work: “As I didn’t see the results of my work ... I didn’t have any satisfaction” (Irina). Thirdly, the women valued having good relationships at work: “The most important thing is to have good relationships - with employees, clients, with everybody” (Klavdiya). Fourthly, the women wanted their work to be interesting, inspiring and help them to acquire new knowledge and skills: “The main reason for working is to learn new things and the constant process of learning” (Polina). The women also wanted the opportunity to realize their potential and develop their talents: “I wanted to express myself, to open myself to others” (Nastya). Therefore, if their job was inadequate to their needs, the women tried to leave it and find another.

Two women (Diana and Tatyana) left their state jobs before the transition to start their businesses. Although they left their jobs voluntarily, it was not because they did not like it, but because they did not want to lose the opportunity of trying something new and interesting: “In Soviet times I was a happy person, I did my favourite job. It was a time for me to accumulate knowledge. ... But then everything changed and I was given a chance to use my knowledge in a new context” (Tatyana).

The majority of the women started to leave their previous places of work after 1991, either because their state enterprise closed down, or because the organization stopped paying out their salary. Some of the women (Vitaliya, Oksana, Galina and Viktoriya) created their own businesses soon after the transition (1991-1994). Vitaliya and Viktoriya stayed in their old profession; Lubov studied for a new qualifications and after a short period of working as an employee in a new profession started a business in that new field; Oksana and Galina opened businesses without having either relevant experience or qualifications in that field.

Others (Marina, Ludmila, Elena, Valeriya, Nataliya, Olga, Daria, and Larisa) first changed their profession and continued to work as employees for several years. Business was a continuation of their career development, usually in finance, auditing or law. They changed

their work place several times during that period, moving either between departments of one company or between different companies, as way of advancing their career. This enabled them to gain experience and knowledge about working in different types of companies of different size, legal entity, structure and specialization. Elena worked as an accountant, economist, analyst, financial adviser and boss of the accounting methodology department; she changed companies five times after she has lost her work in the research Institute: “It might seem like these job changes were inconsistent, but in the end the accumulated experience helped me with my business today.” Besides having their own professional knowledge, all of the women who had had a career in finance, auditing or law had managerial experience before they started up their own companies. Sometimes they were appointed into a managerial position to replace the previous boss who had left.

Those who did not change their profession and did not create a business immediately (Nadezhda, Irina, Zhanna, Elizaveta, Valentina, Veronika and Vera) continued to work in their previous profession until they set up their own business; during this period they often earned on the side, as the main salary was low. Zhanna, Veronika and Vera loved their profession and did not want to leave it in spite of a low salary: “I couldn’t imagine my life without theatre, without the stage. Despite getting a pittance in the musical theatre and doing children’s matinees, I did not even think about leaving. And besides, I can’t do anything else. At that time I could not even dare dream about starting up my own theatre” (Veronika). Others were not then fully prepared for big risks of taking on responsibility for a business: “Once my colleague offered me to start a cooperative, but I was afraid. I did not want to take on so much responsibility” (Irina). Klavdiya, Alisa, Svetlana, Lidiya and Alla left their jobs and stayed unemployed for several years before they started their own business; but they were supported by their husbands during that time.

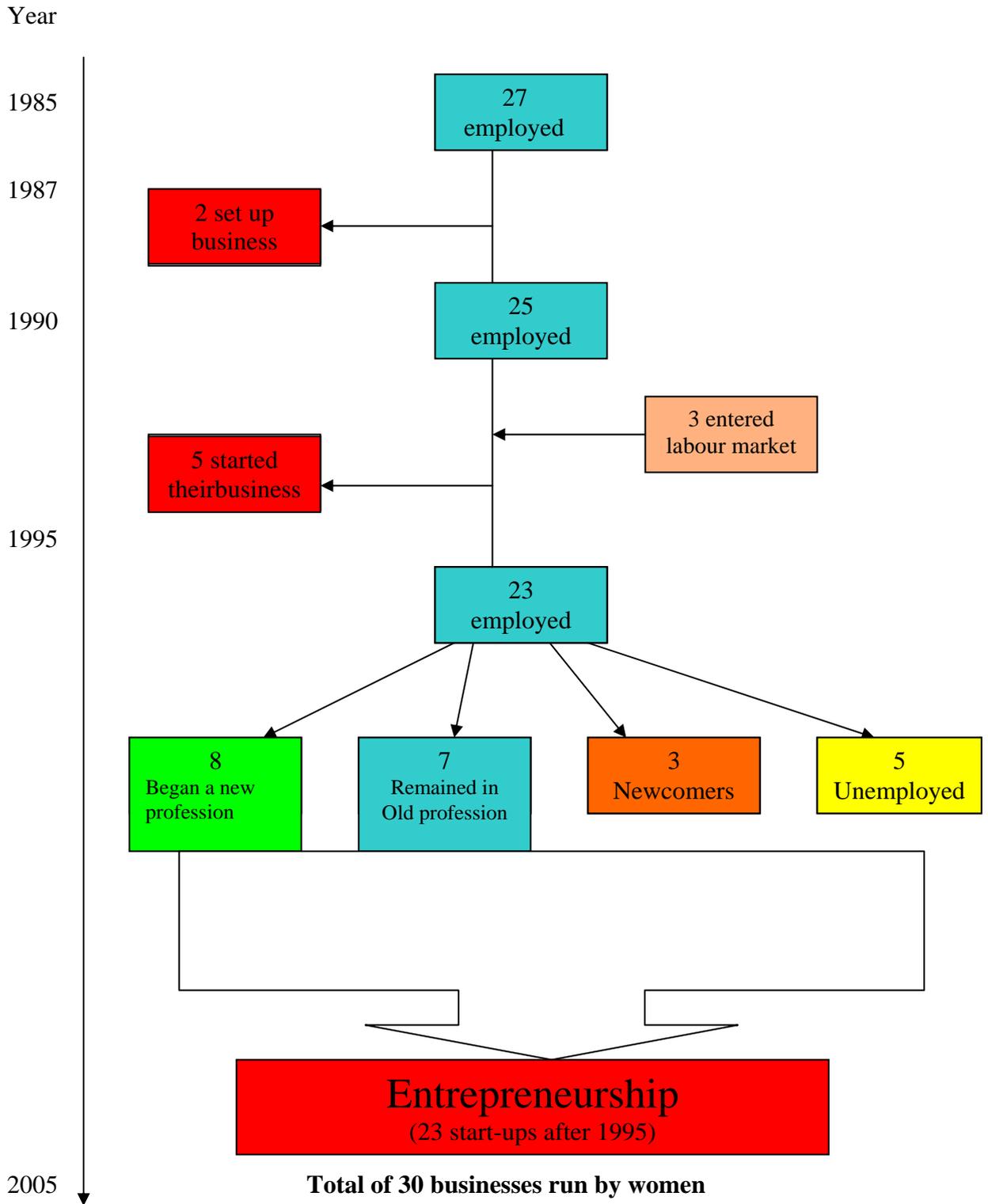
Young women in the age group 20-30 (Nastya, Polina and Yuliya) did not have much work experience prior to going into business. They finished their education after the collapse of the Soviet Union and did not need to change their profession. They started their enterprise soon after graduating and made business their profession. Yuliya and Polina worked two to three years to gain practical knowledge of the industry – fur production and licensing law. Yuliya decided to learn about the fur-industry from the very bottom of the professional ladder: “I asked my husband to hire me in his factory. I was working at the factory as an employee, nobody knew that I was the wife of the owner. I did all different jobs, including

routine and technical operations. So, I familiarized myself with the industry and production processes.” Nastya opened her atelier straight after graduating from fashion school: “I already had the models in my head. I did not want to waste my time on assisting some ungifted designer.”

The women’s departure from the labour force is shown in Figure 5.1, highlighting the different journeys undertaken before starting and managing their own businesses. This figure shows that from 30 women interviewed 27 were employed in 1985. By 1990 2 of them founded their companies leaving 25 women in employment. In the period from 1990 to 1995 5 women launched their businesses, while 3 young women started to work, which resulted in 23 women from the sample, who were employed in 1995. 8 of them worked in a new profession, 7 continued with their previous profession, 3 just came to the labour market and 5 lost their jobs soon after 1995. By 2005 all of these 23 women started their own businesses.

To sum up, the women shared the following reasons for starting or managing their own businesses. They felt frustrated or held back in their career advancement; they disliked the work atmosphere and/or company culture, or simply wanted to be their own boss and do things in their own way.

Figure 5.1. The women's departure from the labour market.



Most of the women worked well and were highly respected in their respective collective, with a number of them (nine) achieving managerial positions (Table 5.4). Their career success was attributed to a number of reasons: hard work (Valentina) in an effort to make her work mentors proud; clever use of her feminine charms to progress (Alisa): “I was an appropriate candidate as I communicated and comported myself well.” Nadezhda, however, highlighted how she rose to the challenge of suddenly being placed in a position of responsibility: “I was appointed as the temporary manageress ... and was overloaded with different work, but it was very useful experience.”

Gaining non-managerial work experience often helped the women to develop even more useful skills for entrepreneurship. For example, Olga told how teaching managers to be more inventive helped to develop her own creative abilities, increased her understanding of situations, sharpened her mind and reactions: “The training taught us to see situations from different angles, to interact with people. Such an intense experience of gaining large-scale interaction with so many people pushed me to the end of my physical and psychological capabilities.” Nataliya’s previous work experience as a teacher of children helped her in business: “My knowledge of pedagogy helped me to manage much better than my knowledge of law because everybody can read the law for themselves, and how I should interact with people is better learned from pedagogy.”

Beside the knowledge and skills the women gained useful contacts from their work place, which helped them to advance their business and find clients. Valeriya’s time spent working with a leading political party gave her very useful contacts and Marina’s time working as chief accountant led to her being introduced to her first big client.

To conclude, the experience gained by many of the women prior to commencing their businesses, helped them to develop relevant skills, knowledge and useful contacts for developing their business. The previous work environment acted as a push factor in driving many of them to run their own business, which will be discussed in further detail in section 6.1.3 (p. 207).

5.2. PERSONAL TRAITS

This section explores the personal traits of the respondents. Usually respondents, when asked directly to describe themselves or to talk about their merits and demerits, were brief. Most of the passages which were coded as self-descriptions arose unintentionally, when talking about other subjects, such as relationships, management, memories, attitudes, views and beliefs. This section was, therefore, written on the basis of the nodes, grouped under the tree nodes “Personality” and “Attitudes”.

The researcher also used some nodes from the other trees, which has been linked with these nodes: “Qualities of a leader”, ‘Relationship with subordinates” and “HR management” form the tree-node “Management”; “Strategy” and “Decision-making process” from the tree-node “Business”. Table 5.5 illustrated which sub-nodes were used in each sub-section.

Table 5.5. Sub-nodes describing personal traits

Sub-headings	Nodes		
	Personality	Attitudes	Other nodes
Need for achievement	Self-description, merits	Education	
Restlessness	Self-description, merits	Work, profession	
Self-assurance	Self-description, merits	Failure, work	Qualities of a leader, relationships with subordinates
Attitude to risk	Views and beliefs	Risk	Decision-making process
Resilience	Merits, fate, life philosophy	Failure	
Diligence	Self-description, merits	Work, profession, education	
Intuition	Intuition, fate, life philosophy	Risk	Strategy, decision-making process
Fatalism and mysticism	Fate, life philosophy		
Interpersonal skills	Self-description, merits, skills		Qualities of a leader, Relationship with subordinates, HR management
Leadership	Self-description, merits, skills, leadership	Men	Qualities of a leader, Relationship with subordinates, HR management
Ambition	Demerits	Work, men, husband, money	
Locus of control	Fate, views and beliefs, life philosophy		
Honesty	Self-description, merits, values, views and beliefs		

The analysis of the nodes identified common themes which emerged with a certain consistency and also picked up some outstanding passages.

5.2.1. Need for achievement

This trait seems to be the most widely discussed one within the trait approach (McClelland, 1961; section 3.3.1, p. 78). Most of the respondents (22) pointed directly or indirectly during the interview to this trait. According to the accounts of the respondents their need for achievement can be defined as a need to do something that leads to a certain result. Being results oriented is very important as aiming for results appeared as one of the strongest motives that the women had for starting a business (section 6.3.3, p. 240).

The need for achievement started to show itself in the respondents already from the time of their youth. Later they wanted to be top of their class and then late at university and usually achieved success in their studies (section 5.1.2, p. 147). Many of them participated in numerous competitions and contests, which helped them to discover and develop their talents. When they were young the need to achieve good results was induced more by the desire to show off and be the centre of attention. 10 respondents said that in their childhood they dreamed about becoming an artist, an actress or a model: “Although I never lacked attention, I always wanted to be the centre of attention, to win everyone over to my opinion, to be top at everything” (Veronika).

Many of the women entrepreneurs strived to achievement, following the example of their parents, older sister or other role models (section 5.1.1, p. 145). Soviet ideology popularized achievement and diligence through the propaganda in pioneer’s and Komsomol organizations and films showing zealous young patriots conquering the summits of science, sport or production for the greater glory of the motherland. Zhanna described herself with a joking phrase from one of such films: “Pioneer, member of the Komsomol, beauty.” In such ways the desire to achieve and to be exemplary was cultivated both in the family and in society.

Often young women wanted to achieve in order to please their parents or their teachers. So they did it more for others than for themselves. For example, Valeriya felt it her duty to be an excellent pupil because her father was a member of the school's parents committee: "he was often in the school, everybody knew and respect him. And for me it was another stimulus to study well. Not just to get good marks, but really to be among the best."

When they became adults the women entrepreneurs needed achievement for themselves: to be pleased with themselves, to prove to themselves that they were capable of doing it. Often the desire to achieve in order to please someone continued. They wanted to achieve for their family – for their husband and even more important – for their children. The desire to make their parents proud in their youth transformed into the desire for their children to be proud of them: "I wanted to achieve something I could be proud of, so that my family also would be proud of me" (Darya). This desire relates to recognition motive, which will be discussed in section 6.2.4. (p.217).

Need for achievement is closely related with the desire to see the result of one's work, which sometimes led women to become frustrated working for others in a job, which prevented them from showing off their personal results (section 5.1.3, p. 153). Being deprived of an opportunity to see the results of their work made the women leave the job in search of something new – another job or setting up their own business (section 6.1.3, p.207).

5.2.2. Restlessness

This need for achievement has two outcomes: first, it results in an activity i.e., a need to be occupied with something. For example nine respondents stated that after a certain period following their maternity leave, namely from six months up to two years, they felt that they could not stay at home any longer and needed to do something. They were driven not by financial reasons but mainly because they wanted to work to keep themselves interested: "After I've got married I stayed at home for one and a half years, but then I was bored and started looking for a new job." The desire to have an interest in work was one of the motives to start-up their businesses (section 6.2.13, p. 225).

The desire to achieve gave women the energy to work and to develop: “I cannot be without work. When there is no development I lose the interest” (Viktoriya). This constant desire for development is reflected in the motive of change (section 6.2.1, p. 211). The women’s energy is not only manifested at work, but also in their communication and relationships: “Discrimination? - Not with me. I think there are few people who would try to discriminate against me - I am loud, flashy and active” (Olga).

As the women wanted to be constantly involved in some sort of activity, when some of them lost their job because of the transition or left because it had become boring, they had to find something else to do, that would stimulate them: “I wanted to get involved in everything, I was very active and battled ahead working on commission only” (Alisa).

5.2.3. Self-assurance

The second outcome from their need for achievement is self-assurance. Achievements, made in youth, made the women more self-confident. Confident of their abilities to achieve in the early years of their life gave them confidence to achieve in the future. Past achievements strengthened their faith in their own capabilities, gave them an optimistic state of mind and prepared them for success.

The majority of the respondents (18) came across as very self-confident. This self-assurance expressed itself in the strong belief that whatever they do can do it well: “I had to work in a new e-commerce firm. Although I didn’t know how to use Internet, I was convinced that I could do it because I had always succeeded in the past” (Elizaveta).

Marina and Nataliya believed that genuine self-assurance is the result of the readiness to take responsibility and should be based on knowledge and professional expertise. Natalya explained: “I don’t mean self-confidence or aplomb, but a confidence that arises from the readiness to take on responsibility. If a person is ready to take responsibility, they are a confident person. If a person is not ready to take on responsibility but is confident, it is not right, because it is self-confidence. Confidence must be based on willingness to take on responsibility: for the company, for employees, for everyone and the collective as a whole, for money, for business - for details as well as great things.”

Three respondents, however, described themselves as not very self-confident. They explained that when they were promoted into high managerial posts, they were afraid of taking these posts. Nevertheless, they hid their fear and took on the positions: “While being a fairly inexperienced person I was suddenly given such responsibility and authority. In the beginning it was terribly frightening. But I did not show my insecurity. So, nobody suspected my lack of confidence; on the contrary, they thought that I was too self-assured. And I did not see myself like this; I saw myself as a frightened little creature” (Polina).

This points to another trait of women entrepreneurs: the ability to confront and conquer their fear and to take a risk.

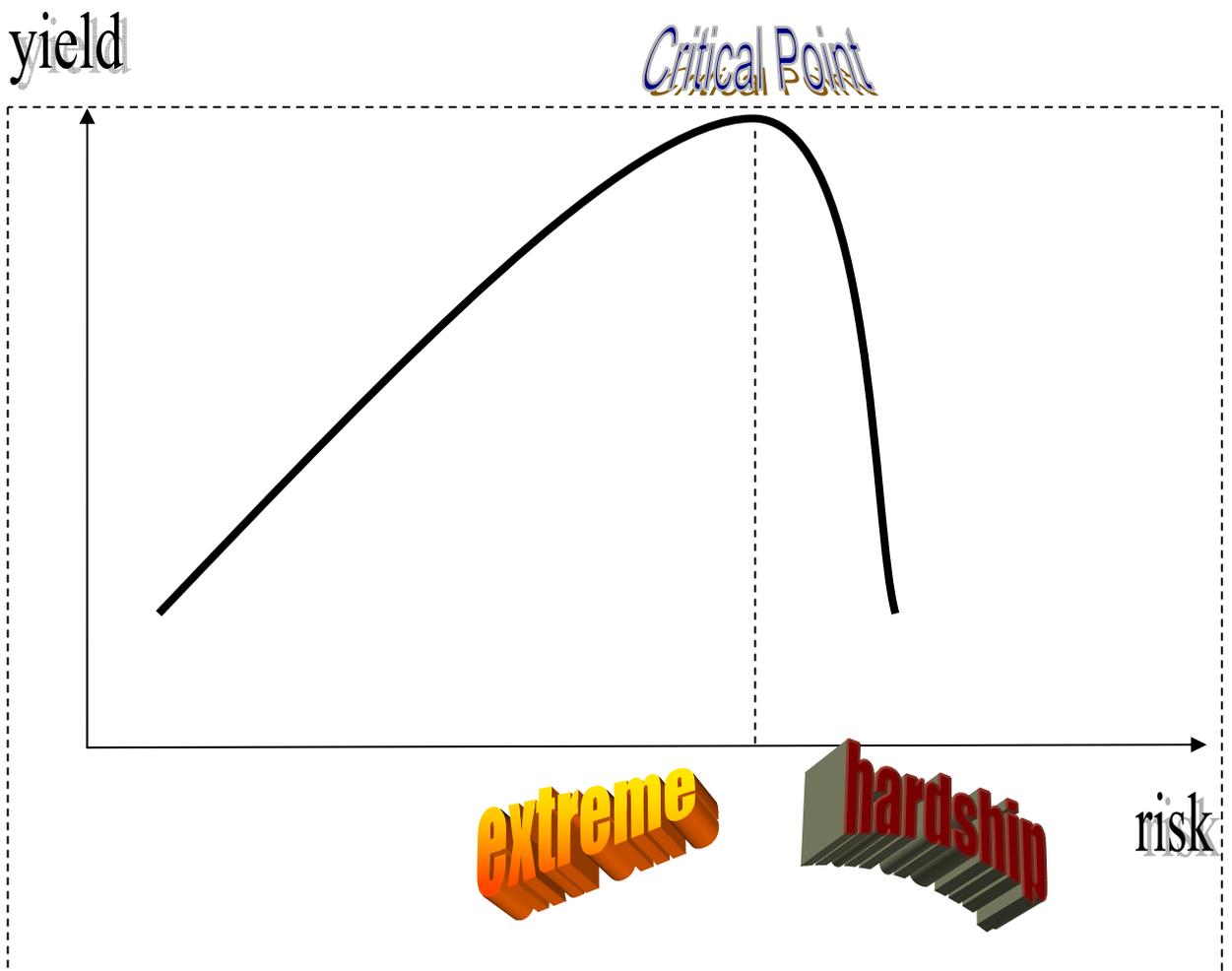
5.2.4. Attitude to risk

The second trait underlined in the entrepreneurship literature is readiness to take risks (section 3.3.2, p. 80). However, the women noticed that readiness to take risks should not be misunderstood as a desire to take risks. Only five respondents admitted that they liked to take risk. The majority of the respondents (17) denied being venture-seeking. Most of them described their attitude to risk as prudent.

Viktoriya said that every person has their own level of acceptable risk – the risk they are ready to take. For entrepreneurs this level is higher than for people of other professions, but still lower than for gamblers or for those who practice extreme sport (Viktoriya). Zhanna, who practiced diving as a hobby expressed very important principle regarding risk-taking: “In diving, as in entrepreneurship, you have to understand where the extreme ends and the hardship begins; and the highest yield is on the dividing line between the two.” It means that entrepreneurs have to distinguish reasonable risk, which leads to gain, and thoughtless risk, which leads to loss (Zhanna). Of course, there are situations, when reasonable risk can lead to loss and hasty risk can lead to gain (Alisa). The women claimed to rely on their intuition to help them distinguish between these two types of risk and to decide on what was acceptable or reasonable risk. The issue of intuition will be discussed in greater depth later in section 5.2.7 (p. 167).

The risk / yield divide described by Zhanna is illustrated in diagram 5.1. The level of risk is shown on the horizontal axis and the yield on the vertical axis. The curve represents the relationship between yield and risk. It shows that if an entrepreneur is not taking enough risk they may not maximize their profit yield, but if they take too much risk they can lose everything (Tatyana). The most successful entrepreneurs are working in the “extreme” area but no reaching the critical point (Diana).

Diagram 5.1. Relationship between risk and yield



Olga, who was against taking risks, described risk as “throwing millions to some dubious deal.” The respondents told that they were very careful about borrowing from banks and preferred to use their own funds or to borrow from their friends or investors, with whom they were on friendly terms. Among 30 of the respondents only seven respondents took

bank credits. Others, either used their own savings, or borrowed funds from friendly investors. The women themselves explained this prudent attitude to risk by their female instinct because, being responsible for bearing children, they cannot afford to put their children at risk.

Irina, Nadezhda and Ludmila explained their resentment towards taking risks by her concern for the people she employed. They felt responsible for her employees and took them into account when considering the risks. This sense of responsibility and concern for others were the main reasons for them to start their businesses (section 6.2.3, p. 216).

A prudent approach to risk-taking was evident in the length of time taken to make decisions. Most of the respondents (21) said that they usually took considerable time before making a decision, and even if the decisions seemed to be taken quickly they admitted that a lot of thought and reflections had gone into the decision before making it.

In conclusion, the women showed themselves ready to take risks but they avoided undue risk, took responsibility for the risk and considered carefully the pros and cons for themselves and others.

5.2.5. Being Resilient

Many of the women interviewed experienced a resilient and almost philosophical attitude towards failure. Speaking of failure, Alla's view was: "Everything passes - this will pass also." The women's philosophical attitude to failure meant that they see the failure as an opportunity to learn from their mistakes: "I don't have a period which I would call unfortunate. Because every cloud has a silver lining" (Valentina). Their positive attitude to life was encapsulated in Klavdiya's words: "if you fall down and break your leg you should thank your lucky stars that you didn't break your back." The women's positive stance on life did not, however, mean that they ignored or were blind to negative situation. They were well able to see both positive and negative sides of events: "I don't think I am an optimist. I don't divide people into optimists or pessimists. ... Optimism and pessimism are two sides of life" (Lidiya).

Such an attitude to failure or bad times was developed as a consequence of women having lived through tough times in their lives. Svetlana, who had survived a bad accident which left her confined to a wheelchair, explained how at some moment in time she realized that she refused to continue her “life as a vegetable” and decided to change her attitude to life, “to struggle for the place under the sun, for the right to enjoy life as everyone else.” Such a critical incident, which has a profound effect on entrepreneur’s life, was called by Cope (2003) a “changing life event”.

Nine respondents admitted to having survived a disaster or a difficult situation in their life. The situations cited included the death of somebody close in the family for example mother (Polina) or husband (Klavdiya); an accident leading to severe disability (Svetlana) or mortal illness (Nadezhda). Others referred to being left on their own to bring up a child without a father (Viktoriya), experiencing poverty (Galina, Valentina, Elizaveta) or suffering from depression (Lidiya). Entrepreneurship often provided a way out of these situations. These adverse situations seemed to act as “catalysts” of gathering and releasing their energy (Svetlana), which, in turn was directed towards entrepreneurship.

5.2.6. Diligence and perseverance

In addition to be resilient and prepared to take well calculated risks the respondents were not afraid of hard work. Hard work had been engrained in many since their youth (section 5.1.1, p. 142). For example, Elizaveta, when she failed to get to university, was forced by her mother to work as a cleaner. Later, when she was a student, she worked as a cleaner to earn money for her room. Doing such a low level work taught her to respect any work and to understand that even low-qualified workers must be rewarded with esteem: “I always worked a lot. I am very grateful to my mother because I learned what it means to work hard and to respect those who do so.” Parents often instituted a hard work ethic in the women: “For my mother work was the most important thing ... I saw how she worked 24 hours a day” (Marina).

Others like Nadezhda had very demanding bosses who often overloaded them with multiple tasks, which they took on willingly and efficiently. Furthermore, working hard as a way of sharing respect to an employer was also mentioned: “When I started working, it

was accepted that if somebody helped you to find a job, then you worked hard so as not to let them down” (Valeriya).

Low salaries drove many of the women, including married women, to work hard and even do several jobs in order to “make ends meet”. Being able to work hard was considered useful in running their own business: “Every job has routine work that has to be done day in and day out. For women this is easier. It’s been proven that psychologically monotonous activity is easier for women” (Valentina).

The women’s stories and experiences highlighted resilience and fortitude in life and at work, which they attribute to preparing them well for entrepreneurship.

5.2.7. Intuition

The majority of the respondents (22) stated that good intuition is essential for entrepreneurs. For many of them intuition was developed as a consequence of their experience and this experience based intuition in turn helped them to make logical decisions. This is summed up by Elena who defined intuition as “experienced, perfect logic.”

Intuition was perceived as having an “ability to think not only with the mind, but with the heart and, therefore, to understand people and events on a deeper level” (Irina); or to be able “to take a holistic view”, “to step back from the nitty-gritty details and see the big picture, which enables you to make linkages between apparently separate things” (Diana).

Others talked about intuition being our soul, or the inner voice of our soul, which tells people where to go, what choices to make. Everybody has this inner voice, but not everyone listens to it or can hear it. Nastya compared this to people going to the cinema: “Everyone enters life as one enters a cinema, and everyone has a ticket, but the numbers on the seats are hidden; if you can guess your seat, than the person will be happy and will be successful. If you get the wrong seat, you will have endless problems.”

The belief that everyone has a mission in life was shared by many women. They were convinced success depends on being able to understand one's mission and go for it. Intuition provides the key to finding one's mission. Alisa explained: "The right way is not always the shortest way. The mind can see the shortest way and logic tells us that the direct line will be the shortest way from 'a' to 'z'. By contrast, intuition may lead us on a path that goes in a zigzag direction, but I can gain much more experience ... The fact of the matter is that it is not the goal that matters, because as soon as we achieve it, it loses its value. What matters is the journey getting to the goal."

Nadezhda illustrated well how as a doctor she often had to rely on intuition because information in books was not enough and her colleagues were not always sufficiently experienced: "Intuition worked well. Sometimes you are faced with an illness or symptom that is difficult to diagnose. In such a situation it is only doctor's intuition that can help. It feels like clairvoyance, and only time can tell as the symptoms develop on whether your intuition has served you well."

5.2.8. Fatalism and mysticism

Seven respondents gave an interesting interpretation of intuition being guided by supernatural forces. These forces can be understood as God, fate, karma or cosmos. 11 women expressed a belief that these forces were guiding them in their life, giving them sublime suggestions and hints, which women use when making choices. Intuition was interpreted as the "sixth sense" that allowed women to notice these mystical signals and make good decisions.

Vera doubted that intuition is acquired through experience and believed, that "it is a gift, given to us from heavens – otherwise, how could you explain, that sometimes less experienced people are more intuitive than more experienced people?" Klavdiya was convinced in the existence of divine providence after an accident that led her to meet her future business partner in the hospital where she was being treated: "I became a believer. I am convinced that there is a force that is leading us. But we don't know sometimes how to use it and how to read the signals that are given to us."

The women believed that these signals can be communicated to us through dreams or through coincidences. The women entrepreneurs seemed very sensitive to their environment and to events happening around them. Selecting significant events were not according to them chosen by logic, but rather by intuition and some kind of philosophical or mystical mindset. Some women operated on blind instinct. Catching a chance phrase, or even an image in a dream, they would test the suggestion, perceived as a kind of cosmic hint, to solve a nagging problem. Occasionally this intuitive stab-in-the-dark approach paid off.

For example, Lubov, told how when she heard bad news on the radio, that the company she had invested in the shares went bankruptcy, started crying; she switched to another program and heard an advert for a beauty salon saying “we will dry your tears.” She went to that address given in the advert and by “coincidence” found in the house next door an office that bought shares at the higher price because the people had not heard about the collapse of her shares on the radio. Another example is the story of Galina, who was trading pearls which she bought in China. Chinese pearl traders offered her a deal: if she could guess which pearl thread was made from river pearls then they would sell her 200 pearl threads for the price of 50. Galina did not know how to distinguish between river and sea pearls; but when the traders showed her a bunch of pearl threads one seemed to beckon her: “it winked at me as a golden tooth in a pirate’s mouth.” She pointed to this thread and guessed right.

Several respondents perceived “the hand of destiny” in the way they found their jobs and started their businesses: “I never looked job. Jobs always found me” (Ludmila). Nadezhda, when she was desperate to find a place for her medical centre, suddenly received a telephone call from her ex-husband, from whom she had not heard for a long time: “And then he suddenly called. I try always to work out why something is happening. It was like a sign. So I told him about my problem and he promised to help. In the end, he found a place for me. Thanks to him the patients started to come to the new medical centre.”

Faith in some sort of guiding hand or intuition was expressed by the majority of women interviewed and seemed to give them assurance that they are on the right path. This assurance was attributed as one of the criteria of success (Alla), which will be discussed in further detail in section 7.1 (p. 252).

5.2.9. Interpersonal skills and empathy

The women entrepreneurs perceive business first of all as a network of relationships, which, if organized effectively, leads to the creation of something new. One respondent compared this to a relationship between a man and a woman that may result in the birth of a child. In order to create such a creative relationship interpersonal skills were considered to be very important. Interpersonal skills were mentioned by the record number of respondents, namely 26.

The women entrepreneurs interpreted interpersonal skills as the ability to love people around them – their employees, their partners, their clients. Interpersonal skills were seen as the key to understanding people, seeing their needs and capabilities. The women were accepting of their colleagues' and employees' strengths and weaknesses. Viktoriya called this ability empathy: "Empathy teaches you to take the point of view of another person." They were clear about giving priority to relationships: "I will never sacrifice relationships for profit. I will sacrifice profit for my relationships with people" (Larisa).

The women entrepreneurs showed themselves to be highly empathic. Interpersonal skills exhibited tact, thoughtfulness and delicacy without formality or distancing, putting people at ease. Valentina called it "striking the balance between attention and concern on the one hand, discretion and tact on the other". Women believed the effort to understand someone should not probe too deeply; boundaries are to be respected so as not to make an interlocutor feel uncomfortable: "I never try too hard to understand another's mind. What for? I don't want to. I don't like others penetrating my mind" (Vera). After the Soviet era, known for invasive ideological programming, the women felt particularly sensitive to unwarranted or uninvited familiarity, what they disparagingly call a kind of invasion of the soul - *zalezanye v dushu* (Alisa).

Many women attributed their success in business to their interpersonal qualities, which will be discussed in further detail in section 7.2.2 (p. 268).

5.2.10. Leadership skills

Leadership qualities were expressed in the women entrepreneurs' liking for managing, influencing and persuading people to do things for them. Personal traits referred to by the women for leadership included confidence, charisma, vision and energy. Most of the respondents shared the opinion that the capability to be a leader and to influence people is innate: "Leaders are born, it is an innate quality. Some people have it, others don't. It is difficult to determine these qualities. It is a kind of charisma" (Viktoriya).

It was often difficult for respondents to explain how they influence people. They claimed to lead intuitively. Others mentioned "openness and availability" as a necessary quality of a leader: "You have to be open and available, so that others see in you someone, who can help and who can be asked for advice" (Natalya). Several respondents relied on their femininity to lead and noticed that they were better able to influence men than women (Olga, Nadezhda and Ludmila).

Leadership was regarded as a two-way process: it depends not only on the leader, but also on those, who are led. That is why for leaders it is very important to understand people, to feel their mood, to read their behaviour and to choose those people, who will follow you. Veronika explained her leadership skills by the desire of people to be led: "Many people like to be influenced: it is difficult for them to decide for themselves and they prefer just to do what they are told to do. There are people who are easily influenced."

Some of women felt that their leadership skills were already being developed within youth at school and at university: "I was developing as a leader from my childhood: in kindergarten, as a pioneer, in the Komsomol (Young Communist League)." Many of the women entrepreneurs were leaders among their coequals and friends: "When I was young, there was a group of us, two girls, me and my friend, and ten boys. These boys used to come to us for advice, for example, which girl to choose, etc. Everybody followed my lead such as which songs to play and which films to watch" (Zhanna). Sometimes their parents encouraged women to develop leadership skills: "My parents brought me up as a leader, gave me this desire to be a leader even during my school years when I was a leader in junior organisations" (Valeriya).

Although most of the women pointed to the charisma being the most important quality in a leader, some of the respondents noticed that this alone was not enough. A leader also needs knowledge and competence in leadership: “If you want to be a leader you must prepare for that and acquire knowledge in order that your opinion wins in the support of others.” Leadership skills, charisma and knowledge as factors of success will be discussed in further detail in section 7.2.2 (p. 266).

However, not all women liked to be leaders – some of them admitted that they had to behave like leaders to encourage their employees to work hard. Valentina confessed: “May be I do not really like being a leader, but it is something that I have had to get used to. Because at work sometimes the only way to achieve a result is to manage and exert influence over people.” Larisa for her part explained: “Sometimes I have to get something done and in order to get it done I need people to do things. This sometimes requires you to be tough, and at other times it needs gentle persuasion.” Many of the women entrepreneurs linked leadership to responsibility: “If you are leader you are responsible for everybody” (Olga).

5.2.11. Ambition and self-esteem

The women entrepreneurs had high expectations from life, including their job, material well-being, husband or partner, as well as from themselves. These high expectations meant that they were not willing to put up with mediocrity and were willing to take action to change things, if they were not satisfied. For some this meant opposing their parents’ wishes to keep “their head down” in Soviet times, as discussed in section 5.1.1 (p. 142). A number of them aspired to have a better life than their parents had had. These aspirations often pushed women to entrepreneurship (section 6.1.3, p. 203).

The respondents showed high sense of self-esteem. It showed itself in their resistance to act against their principles, for example to work in a job that they disliked. Larisa changed her job several times, regardless of the fact that she earned good salary and had a top position, because she could not stand dishonest relationships in the collective: “I could not work there any longer, my self-esteem was more important to me.” Self-esteem did not

allow the women to bear any inadequate or offensive behaviour from others: “I never offend anyone, but I defend myself. I do not allow any injustice against me” (Vitaliya).

The women entrepreneurs had high expectations not only from work, but also choice partners or husbands: “I have a certain system of values concerning men. I think that a man in his relationships with a woman must be more spiritual, kind, strong, tolerant and faithful” (Larisa). Sometimes these steep demands of partners or husbands resulted in the women living on their own. This partly confirms the psychological myth about business women, discussed in section 2.2.4 (p. 43).

Lidiya, who had a partner, but did not live with him, explained that sometimes women entrepreneurs could not create a family because they found it difficult to separate their work behaviour from how they should behave at home. Elena expressed her dilemma between the desire to find a strong man and to be a leader herself: “I don't like weak men, men who submit to me, but at the same time I don't want a man doesn't do as I say. Nevertheless, I know that a partnership needs to be made up of equals and there is a lot of compromise needed to make it work.”

5.2.12. Locus of control

The notion of “locus of control” can be found in the trait theory (section 3.3.3, p. 81). The concept presented suggests that entrepreneurs have an internal locus of control, in other words they are in control of their life as opposed to non-entrepreneurs, who tend to have external locus of control and be influenced strongly by the circumstances. The response from the women entrepreneurs with regard to locus of control was divided: a larger group (22) believed more in their own power and abilities and a smaller group (eight) were less sure of themselves and believed more in luck, circumstances and fate.

The two views are well summarized by Olga and Ludmila: “If I wanted to change something I would change it. I change what I want to change” (Olga). By contrast, Ludmila, who changed her job several times, stated: “I don't think I am very talented or ambitious. I never strived to become a boss – it was just circumstance that I was promoted to high positions.”

Even so, while the majority (22) were strikingly self-confident, only six respondents declared they had control over their life and circumstances. Others highlighted that they were influenced by their environment: responsibility towards the people they worked with, made the women more constrained. Even the very self-confident women in the sample had an understanding that although they felt capable of doing everything, they could not control everything and the final outcomes were influenced by circumstances. Polina compared it with the game of poker: "I can agree that it is a game of skill – you can have a strategy and it works sometimes. But at the end the gain depends on your hand of cards."

5.2.13. Honesty

Eight respondents named honesty as one of the indispensable qualities for entrepreneurs. Others although not pointing directly to it, showed that they were honest in their attitudes and actions.

Nadezhda and Vitaliya, who were doctors before becoming an entrepreneur, refused to sell useless medicaments to patients – a common practice in hospitals during the early transition period: "I am a person who cannot force somebody to buy something. I could never deal with the distribution of these supplements, especially knowing that these drugs actually have had bad side-effects." Elizaveta avoided imposing a way of working on her employees, although as a connoisseur of human psychology she had that aptitude. Larisa refused a research job she badly wanted because she would have had to give a bribe to get it: "Being an honest and sincere person I was frightened by this."

These examples illustrate that the women are honest not only in dealing with others, but also with themselves. Tatyana believed that being true to yourself, pursuing your true inner goals is the pledge of success in any constructive endeavour: "You have to listen to your conscience in order to keep on the right path." The women named integrity – allegiance to cherished personal principles and goals – a criterion for business success (section 7.2.2, p. 273).

The data presented in section 5.2 is summarized in Table 5.5 "Personal Traits".

Table 5.5. Personal traits

Name	Achievement	PhD	Restlessness	Self-assurance	Risk propensity	Risk aversion	Bank credit	Resilience	Disaster	Diligence	Intuition	Fatalism	Inter-personal skills	Leadership	Ambition	Internal locus of control	Honesty
Marina	+			+		+				+	+		+				+
Ludmila	+		+	-		+		+		+	+	+	+				+
Elena	+	+	+			+				+			+				+
Vitaliya	+	+	+	+			+	+		+			+	+	+		+
Nadezhda	+	+	+	-		+		+	+	+	+	+	+				+
Irina						+				+	+						
Diana	+	+	+	+	+		+	+			+		+	+	+	+	+
Oksana				+							+			+			
Tatyana	+	+		+			+	+			+		+	+		+	+
Valeriya	+		+	+	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+
Natalya	+	+		+		+	+	+		+	+		+	+		+	+
Nastya			+			+		+		+	+			+			
Olga	+		+	+		+				+	+		+	+		+	
Darya	+			+				+					+		+		
Lidiya						+		+	+	+			+		+		+
Zhanna	+		+	+	+						+		+	+	+		
Galina	+		+	+		+		+	+		+	+	+				
Lubov	+	+	+	+				+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+
Viktoriya	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	
Larisa	+			+		+				+			+				+
Alla						+		+		+	+		+				+
Svetlana	+							+	+		+	+	+				+
Elizaveta	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+
Valentina			+			+			+	+		+	+				+
Polina	+			-	+				+		+		+		+		
Veronika	+					+				+	+		+	+	+		
Vera	+			+			+				+	+	+				+
Yuliya	+			+							+	+	+	+	+		
Alisa			+	+	+			+			+	+	+				
Klavdiya			+			+		+	+	+	+	+					
Score	22	8	16	18	4	17	7	18	10	19	23	11	26	13	12	6	17

5.3. Theoretical discussion relating to human capital theory and trait approach.

This section discusses the data presented in sections 5.1 and 5.2 in relation to the human capital theory (section 3.5) and the Trait theory (section 3.3). The first subsection (5.3.1) examines how upbringing, education and work experience assisted the women in their acquisition of human and social capital. The second subsection (5.3.2) uses the trait approach to compare known common entrepreneurial traits with traits respondents used to describe themselves. It posits an explanation of identified differences occurring between the trait approach and the women's self-descriptions, using Hofstede's (2001) theory of culture (section 3.4).

5.3.1. Human capital

Human capital comprises tacit and explicit knowledge in the form of functional knowledge and skills, acquired through formal education and business experience, and entrepreneurial self-efficiency (section 3.5.2, p. 96). Section 5.1.2 (p. 147) showed that the respondents were highly educated, all of them having a higher education degree, which echoes the findings of research on Russian women entrepreneurs (section 2.2.2, p. 33). Aidis et al (2005) noted that high education level is a commonly reported characteristic of entrepreneurship in transition economies, and argue that this pattern reflects the limited alternative sources of employment for educated people in transition conditions.

Eight women had a PhD, 10 women had a second degree, one woman had three degrees and one other even had four degrees (Table 5.3, p. 148). Usually the incentive to obtain a second degree was the need to change their profession after the transition to market economy, when their previous profession lost demand on labour market. Therefore most of the women had their second degree in economics, finance or law. Some of the women acquired their second degree in an area of interest to them (two women) or a specific education connected with the industry of their business (two women).

The women held first degree in a variety of subject areas: humanities (nine women), followed by technology (seven), natural science (six) and arts (five). Using the distinction between tacit and explicit knowledge (section 3.5.2, p. 96) it can be noted that the women

intended to rely on their tacit rather than explicit component of knowledge. Although education is usually regarded as a source of explicit knowledge, it can also help to develop tacit knowledge such as interpersonal skills, ability to make contacts, how to behave, to resolve problems, to process information, to be a leader. Giving priority to friends and clubs rather than degree subject suggests that when choosing an institution explicit knowledge was less important to the women than tacit knowledge (section 5.1.2, p. 148).

Although the women's choice of university was based on social criteria (atmosphere, friends and practical considerations of further job placement) rather than subject, most of the women loved the profession, for which they studied. However, when they started working they were often disappointed by the reality of work as it was different from what they had imagined. Sometimes they did not like the conditions at work, because of an unpleasant boss, unfriendly collective or absence of professional development and career promotion opportunities. Many of the women were, therefore, unable to get their dream career, which they felt would have enabled them to maximize their capabilities. This resulted in many of them finding other ways of releasing their creative potential in entrepreneurship (section 5.1.3, p. 154). Job dissatisfaction as a push factor for starting-up a business will be discussed in section 6.1.3 (p. 207). Table 5.6 shows whether the business created by the respondents is related to their degree and prior work experience.

Table 5.6. Connection between education, work experience and sphere of business.

Name	Business	Education	Relation of first degree to business	Previous work experience	Relation of work experience to business
Marina	Audit company	Librarian; Finance	+	Librarian; Accountant; Financial director	+
Ludmila	Audit company	Economics and statistics; Audit	+	Researcher; Accountant; Financial director; Auditor	+
Elena	Audit company	Programming; Mathematics; Economics; MBA	+	Programmist; Secretary; Accountant; Auditor	+
Vitaliya	Clinic of stomatology and neurology	Medicine	+	Doctor	+
Nadezhda	Clinic for food allergy testing	Medicine	+	Doctor; Researcher	+
Irina	Sewing shop	Merchandizing		Expert on merchandize	

Name	Business	Education	Relation of first degree to business	Previous work experience	Relation of work experience to business
Diana	Big holding (construction, real estate, machinery construction, petrochemical plant, trade, banking)	Biochemistry		Senior researcher	
Oksana	Tourist company	Aircraft engineering		Engineer	
Tatyana	IT and soft-ware company	Programming	+	Researcher	+
Valeriya	Fleet of taxis and service centre	Finance	+	Political analyst; Financial director	+
Natalya	Leasing company	Pedagogy; Law	+	Teacher; Economist; Lawyer; Director of legal department	+
Nastya	Atelier	Couture	+		
Olga	Advertising agency	Philosophy		Business-games trainer; Commercial director	+
Darya	Alliance of American and Russian Women, Committee of 20	Foreign languages		Researcher; Lecturer; Business mentor	+
Lidiya	Piano	Music	+	Teacher	
Zhanna	Design bureau	Architecture	+	Consultant at the infrastructure department of the city administration	
Galina	Tea shop and vegetarian restaurant	Statistics		Technical constructor	
Lubov	Business women of Russia; Audit company	Steel-casting; Accounting	+	Production engineer; Accountant	+
Viktoriya	Printing trades	Journalism		Editor assistant	+
Larisa	Consulting company	Radio-engineering; Finance	+	Junior researcher; Auditor	+
Alla	Confectionary	Medicine; Trade	+	Nurse	
Svetlana	Wine shop	Transport; Sommelier school	+	Assistant	
Elizaveta	Internet shop	Medicine; Psychology; Aromatherapy		Researcher	
Valentina	Note publishing	Philology		Teacher	
Polina	Juridical firm	Law	+	Legal advisor	+
Veronika	Theatre	Music	+	Singer in the musical theatre	+
Vera	Club system for women	Linguistics		Teacher	
Yuliya	Fur salon	Art decoration; Economics		Merchant in luxury clothing; fur-dresser	+
Alisa	Mothers' beauty contests	Geology		Geologist; Chief of research department	
Klavdiya	Puppet master	History of art		Teacher	
Total			17		16

As Table 5.6 shows that 16 women started businesses which were linked to their employment experience. 17 women used functional explicit knowledge that they acquired during their second education in business. This highlights that the respondents have a high level of general human capital and industry-specific human capital (section 3.5.2, p. 96), which finds resonance with the findings of Bosma et al (2004), Zorn (2004), Cooper, Gimeno-Gascon and Woo (1994) that human capital investment increases entrepreneurial performance.

Although the education of 13 women was not linked to their business area, their general standard of education, learning, skills development and self-discipline, acquired through the process of their education and upbringing, appear to have contributed to the women's entrepreneurial performance. This part of human capital relates to the self-efficiency variable of human capital (Chen et al, 1998; section 3.5.2, p. 96). The women showed a strong ability to learn, most of them had achieved good marks during secondary education as well as at university. This ability transferred into their entrepreneurial activities, when the women learned how to start and manage a business first hand.

While the women possess high level of general and industry-specific human capital, they do not seem to have much entrepreneurship-specific capital, which consists of business experience and training. Although only two women have a degree in management, the lack of entrepreneurship-specific capital was compensated by general and industry-specific capital. Degrees in areas other than management, nevertheless, gave the women the knowledge and the skills, which are useful in business. Natural sciences develop analytical skills, engineering gives insight into technology and humanities provides discursive and communication skills (section 5.1.3, p. 151). Also one third of the women had managerial experience when they were working in finance, auditing or law. This experience can be related to entrepreneurship-specific human capital (Bosma et al, 2004).

The observation that not all of the women used their education in business echoes the findings of Bosma et al (2004), that sometimes talent can replace investments into specific human capital. It also confirms the proposition that entrepreneurial learning can be developed through experience (Cope, 2003; Gibb, 1997) and "action learning" (Taylor et al, 2004) and is not dependant on formal education. Previous work experience, irrespective of whether it can be related to entrepreneurship-specific human capital or general human

capital, is important in two ways. First, it cultivates a certain attitudes to work, diligence and perseverance (section 5.2.6, p. 166), which often transmit into business. Secondly, work experience is first of all a learning experience, although it differs from studying. It is the experience, through which a person gains practical skills and acquires tacit knowledge (Cope and Watts, 2000).

The self-efficiency dimension of human capital was also developed in the women through the upbringing they received from their parents (section 5.1.1, p. 140). The “over-protective” approach to parenting taught them to work hard and to achieve. The strong connection respondents perceived between success and achievement, and between achievement and hard work, resonates with the expectancy theory model (Porter and Lawler, 1968), which links efforts and performance, performance and outcomes (section 3.2.3, p. 76).

“Laissez-faire” upbringing taught the women independence and social adaptation skills. The freedom to expand their circle of acquaintances brought extensive social capital, developed social communication skills applicable to varied communities – in turn an important trigger of entrepreneurial performance (section 3.5.1, p. 94). The two approaches to upbringing laid the foundations for strong personalities, purposeful and self-sufficient individuality.

The discussions and references offered above provide insights into the positive influences that shaped entrepreneurial skills in the respondents, and increased their human capital, highlighting the importance of experience. These insights stimulate reflections on women's developmental processes contributing to their personal trait profiles described in Chapter 5. Some traits were called innate, others acquired via upbringing, education and work experience. But even the traits which the respondents called innate were activated and furthered through particular contexts of up-bringing, formal and informal education. The women's personal traits are discussed in the following subsection in relation to trait theory (section 3.3, p. 78) and Hofstede's theory of culture (section 3.4.2, p. 87).

5.3.2. *Personal traits*

When describing themselves the women mentioned the following traits (Table 5.5, p. 175):

1. Need for achievement
2. Restlessness
3. Self-assurance
4. Risk aversion
5. Resilience
6. Diligence and perseverance
7. Intuition
8. Fatalism and mysticism
9. Interpersonal skills and empathy
10. Leadership skills
11. Ambition and self-esteem
12. Locus of control
13. Honesty

The frequency of the traits mentioned by the respondents is shown in the last line of the Table 5.5 (score). Among the most frequently traits mentioned by the respondents are interpersonal skills (26), intuition (23) and need for achievement (22). These traits are followed by diligence and perseverance (19), resilience (18), self-assurance (18), honesty (17) and restlessness (16). While women shared these traits, they also emphasized opposing traits, such as internal or external locus of control, high or low risk propensity. Other traits, such as fatalism, leadership skills and ambition, received much less discussion, and were even rejected by certain respondents.

Chirikova and Krichevskaya's (1996) sample of Russian women entrepreneurs (section 2.2.2, p. 35) defined many of these traits. The results given also provide some limited support for the trait approach (section 3.3, p. 78) insofar as respondents specified personality traits. Some of the traits discussed the trait approach authors, e.g. need for achievement, self-respect, honesty, ambitions, intuition and self-confidence, (Table 3.2, p.82) also received respondent emphasis. On the other hand, risk propensity, internal locus

of control and innovation (attributed to entrepreneurs by the trait approach) were not highlighted by these participants.

The following paragraphs examine the extent to which traits mentioned by respondents were found in entrepreneurship literature, notably trait theory; differences between the findings and the trait approach are interpreted applying Hostede's (2001) theory of culture (section 3.4.2, p. 87).

Need for achievement

A consensus found the need to achieve to be a key entrepreneurial trait (section 3.3.1, p.78). The expectations of relatives, friends, colleagues and society in general encouraged women's need to achieve (sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2). This resonates with McClelland's (1961) view that high parental expectations contribute to a higher need for achievement. This was especially true for women brought-up in an "over-protected" style. As Table 5.7 illustrates, of 22 women with high achievement needs, 11 had been brought up by over-protective adults. Moreover, all respondents reared over-protectively exhibited high achievement needs. Respondents not showing high achievement needs had been educated either in a "laissez-faire" style (five women) or neutrally (three women). High parental expectations for offspring were reinforced by Soviet ideology, which promoted academic excellence and exemplary behaviour, thereby encouraging the achievement drive in respondents.

Table 5.7. Connection between achievement orientation and style of upbringing

Name	Achievement	Style of education	Achievement and OP	Achievement and LF	Achievement and N
Marina	+	OP	1		
Ludmila	+	OP	1		
Elena	+	OP	1		
Vitaliya	+	N			1
Nadezhda	+	OP	1		
Irina		LF			
Diana	+	OP	1		
Oksana		LF			
Tatyana	+	OP	1		
Valeriya	+	OP	1		
Natalya	+	OP	1		
Nastya		LF			
Olga	+	LF		1	
Darya	+	N			1
Lidiya		LF			
Zhanna	+	LF		1	
Galina	+	LF		1	
Lubov	+	LF		1	
Viktoriya	+	N			1
Larisa	+	OP	1		
Alla		N			
Svetlana	+	OP	1		
Elizaveta	+	OP	1		
Valentina		N			
Polina	+	N			1
Veronika	+	LF		1	
Vera	+	N			1
Yuliya	+	LF		1	
Alisa		LF			
Klavdiya		N			
	22		11	6	5

The convergence of these influences resulted in women driven to achieve. For some, this compulsion originated in a sense of accountability for work outcomes, responsibility for their achievements' impact on colleagues or kin (section 5.2.1, p. 160). This reflects the influence of institutions such as educational policy and systems, ideology and family (section 3.4.3, p. 89) in empowering women to achieve as entrepreneurs.

Achievement need often appeared in affiliation with the desire for attention, reflecting connections between achievement motivation and recognition motivation (section 3.2.2, p.

69). The desire to achieve for members of the family, either to help them or earn their pride and praise, links achievement motivation to affiliation motivation (section 3.2.2, p. 70). This specific attitude to achievement is discussed further in section 6.2.3 (p. 216), 6.2.4 (p. 217) and 6.2.9 (p.221).

Intuition and interpersonal skills

Apart from Timmons (1994) who mentioned it in the context of prescience (section 3.3), intuition as a trait typical of entrepreneurs was not discussed much by the Trait approach authors. By contrast, study respondents regarded intuition as crucial for entrepreneurs, defining it more broadly than mere foresight (section 5.2.7, p. 167). This echoes the views of Hill (2007), who included intuition within tacit knowledge, acquired with experience, and who believed entrepreneurial knowledge to be largely tacit (Hill and Shuvalova, 2007; section 3.5.2, p. 96).

Intuition also relates to social perception skills (Baron and Markman, 2000), believed to help with social capital acquisition and relationship-building (section 3.5.1, p. 94). The same applies to interpersonal skills not highlighted by Trait theory authors, but discussed in relation to social capital theory (Welsch and Liao, 2005) as part of social skills. Intuition and interpersonal skills as factors of success are discussed in further detail in section 7.2.2 (p. 280 and p. 268).

Risk propensity

Entrepreneurial women's careful measurement of affordable risk parameters, the links perceived by them between risk and responsibility for outcomes, resonates with Chirikova's research (1998). She found women entrepreneurs to be more risk-averse than men (section 2.2.2, p. 34). Such risk-aversion further resonated with the findings of Stevensen and Gumpert (1985) that entrepreneurs try to reduce or eliminate risk, even squandering assets to overcompensate for risk (section 3.3.2, p. 80). The fact that women prefer to borrow from friends shows the important role of informal and social networks, which is also underlined in the institutional theory literature (section 3.4.3, p. 89). Moreover, McClelland (1961) associated moderate degree of risk taking with high need for achievement (section 3.3.1, p. 79). The link made by the women between taking risks and

accepting responsibilities for their outcomes echoes McClelland's (1961) belief that achievement motivated people like being responsible for the work they are doing as they like to take credit for the ensuing success.

The low risk propensity found in the women entrepreneurs from the sample can be explained partly by the cultural and institutional contexts (sections 2.2.3, p. 37, and 3.4.2, p. 86), and partly by gender stereotypes (section 2.2.4, p. 42). These gender stereotypes can increase the gaps between the level of risk considered appropriate for men and women. The strength of these stereotypes depends on the characteristics of the culture of the country: Mueller (2004) proposed that in masculine cultures the difference in the perception of risk across genders is higher than in feminine cultures (section 3.4.2, p. 88). As it was discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.1.1), Russian society, despite the promotion of the equality by Soviet ideology, is dominated by a masculine culture with strong traditional patriarchal values and assumptions regarding respective roles of men and women. This masculine culture offers one explanation about why Russian women entrepreneurs tend to be cautious risk-takers.

The uncertainty avoidance dimension of culture also affects people's attitude to risk (Mueller, 2004). Cultures with high uncertainty avoidance tend to be more risk averse (section 3.4.2, p. 88). The legacy of the Soviet regime's harshness left Russian society a high uncertainty avoidance culture (Harris, 1996), which implies that taking risks is regarded as gambling and is socially discouraged.

However, this attitude to risk and uncertainty is changing, as during the years of transition the uncertainty also became the norm (Yanitzkiy, 2000). People got used to living with uncertainty and unexpected changes (Svarovsky, 2002). Moreover, Russian society is also becoming more individualistic: this, according to Mueller (2004), also makes people more risk-prone. As Russians become socially more relaxed, more individualistic, more willing to venture forth, a noticeable willingness to reconsider attitudes to risk has begun to emerge, though still mediated by conventions regarding men's and women's roles. In Soviet times, both women and men were restrained from taking risks (unless those risks had been state-mandated, e.g. in the space programme, or military service); now men are encouraged to risk, while women are still cautioned against 'recklessness' (section 2.2.4, p. 42 – *medical-biological and socio-domestic myths*). After transition the masculine

patriarchal culture of Russian society, which had been masked by the Soviet ideology of equality for 70 years, surfaced again highlighting gender differences, including gender differences in entrepreneurial behaviour (Vorobyeva, 2008; sections 2.1.2 and 2.2.2).

Locus of control

The findings of this research contradict the trait approach with regard to “locus of control” (Johnson, Newby and Watson, 2003). The literature suggests that entrepreneurs tend to have internal rather than external locus of control (section 3.3.3, p. 81). The majority of the respondents, however, demonstrated external locus of control, saying that they have to adapt their intention to the situation. Some of the respondents even expressed a belief in fate or another external force that influences their behaviour and guides them in their life journey, calling this trait “fatalism”.

External locus of control is more typical for women in general, because they are more constrained by family responsibilities and have less freedom to pursue their personal goals. Mueller (2004) asserted that across countries men consistently exhibited higher internal locus of control than women. Moreover, an external locus of control of the women entrepreneurs was heightened by the instability of the Russian economy, the uncertainty of the business environment and also corruption (section 2.2.3, p. 40).

Having internal locus of control is also negatively correlated with collectivism dimension of culture (section 3.4.2, p. 87), where individuals bow to group views or act in the interest of the group. These groups can be university courses or clubs, work collective, social clubs, family etc (Hofstede, 2001). In the case of the women entrepreneurs their company became their “collective” group (section 5.2.12, p. 174). Their action and behaviour, including risk-taking tended to be governed by their consideration of the “collective”. In this way, they “lost” their internal locus of control.

The relation of the traits mentioned by the respondents to theoretical concepts is summarized in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8. Relation of the women's personal traits with theoretical concepts

Traits	Human capital theory	Trait approach	Context
Need for achievement		Key quality, distinguishing entrepreneurs	Exigent upbringing and education, reaction on other's expectations
Restlessness		Consequence of need for achievement	
Self-assurance	Developed along with acquiring human capital		
Attitude to risk		Prudent attitude contradicts the assumption of trait approach about risk propensity of entrepreneurs	Collectivistic and masculine culture and high uncertainty avoidance prevent the women from taking high risks
Resilience	Develops as the result of negative experience		Life changing event
Diligence	Develops through work experience		Exigent work environment
Intuition	Part of tacit knowledge		Unpredictable economical and political context
Fatalism and mysticism	Relates to external locus of control	Interpretation of intuition	
Interpersonal skills	Part of tacit knowledge		
Leadership	Requires tacit as well as explicit knowledge; part of entrepreneurship-specific human capital	Innate quality, which requires taking responsibility	Develops in educational context
Ambition	Consequence of high level of human capital	Consequence of self-esteem	Choice of work and husband
Locus of control		External, rather than internal locus of control contradicts with the assumption of trait approach; connected with fatalism	Collectivistic and masculine culture; uncertainty of business environment
Honesty			Upbringing and work context

5.4. Conclusions

This chapter has focused on analysing themes and issues found in nodes grouped under “Biographical data”, “Personality” and “Attitudes” (sections 5.1 – 5.2) and discussing these with regard to human capital theory, trait approach and Hofstede’s theory of culture (section 5.3).

Data analysis showed women entrepreneurs having been well nurtured by parents (section 5.1.1) and attaining high levels of education (section 5.1.2). Two contrasting styles of childrearing emerged: “over-protective” and “laissez-faire”. However, both styles of upbringing promoted useful human and entrepreneurial qualities: an over-protective upbringing encouraged academic achievement; a laissez-faire upbringing taught independence and self-reliance while providing freedom with life decisions.

In educational choices, they relied on social networks and friends. The popularity of a profession and the reputation of an institution were carefully considered, because in Soviet times networks were regarded as potentially more important for careers than actual qualifications. This thoughtful approach to education and career highlights the respondents’ need to achieve, shared by a majority of them (section 5.2.1).

Other commonly shared traits include restlessness (5.2.2), self-assertion (5.2.3), resilience (5.2.5), diligence (5.2.6), intuition (5.2.7) interpersonal skills (5.2.9) and honesty (5.2.13). Data analysis revealed many personal traits of the women growing out of a particular upbringing, education & work experience, and via social interaction -- confirming that entrepreneurial women’s personalities were influenced by cultural and institutional contexts (Harris, 1995; Aidis et al, 2005).

The need for achievement developed in a context of high expectations from parents and teachers in school, further encouraged by the examples of relatives and by Soviet indoctrination. The same applies to leadership skills: while respondents considered them innate, they frequently described having assumed leadership in response to exigent circumstances. This sometimes forced leadership evidenced an external locus of control. External locus of control also manifested itself in fatalism and mysticism, expressed by

certain respondents as a belief in destiny or some kind of providence or divine intent. Experiences of negative events taught resilience in failure. Such qualities as diligence and honesty were inculcated by exigent upbringing and high work standards the women sought to match with performance.

In summary, it can be said that certain personal traits (restlessness, self-assurance, intuition, sociability) were innate; others were partly innate and partly cultivated during upbringing (need for achievement, diligence, leadership, ambition, honesty); still others (risk-aversion, external locus of control, resilience, fatalism) were implanted by the cultural and social context.

The results found resonance with much of the literature on human capital theory, notably with regard to self-efficiency and industry-specific dimensions of human capital (section 5.3.1). Both over-protective and laissez-faire upbringing approaches helped women acquire general human capital in the form of tacit knowledge (Hill, 2007) and useful life skills, e.g. leadership, interpersonal skills. Past achievements gave respondents self-assurance, illustrating links between self-assurance, achievement needs and human capital accumulation. High levels of human capital also resulted in women's high entrepreneurial ambitions, reflected both in work and family contexts.

High educational levels are typical of entrepreneurs in transition countries (Aidis et al, 2005). From a human capital theory perspective, it was not the education itself but the skills acquired as students that proved relevant to business. Social considerations made by the women when choosing professions suggest these choices were driven by the desire to acquire social capital, believed to improve career development opportunities.

Functional knowledge acquired through education together with field experience post-launch developed industry-specific dimensions of human capital (Bosma et al, 2004). Prior experience of leading junior organisations, or as managers, added to the women's entrepreneurship-specific dimension of human capital. However, limited access to formal management and business education, and lack of business ownership experience were replaced by respondents' general academic culture (studiousness, learning strategies, diligence) or work habits gained during employment. This resonates with Cope (2003) and

Gibb (1997), who found entrepreneurs learn by doing, and with Hill (2007), who found that entrepreneurs rely on tacit more than on explicit knowledge.

With regard to the Trait theory, the findings echoed the researcher's emphasis on the need for achievement (McClelland, 1961) as a key entrepreneurial quality (section 5.3.2). However, the data did not highlight other traits, such as risk propensity, internal locus of control and innovativeness, considered typical of entrepreneurs by a number of researchers (Sexton and Bowman; 1990; Stewart and Roth, 2001; Johnson, Newby and Watson, 2003; see Table 3.2, p. 82). Differences between the findings and trait theory may be explained by cultural norms of Russian society, which can fairly be described as collectivistic, masculine, a high uncertainty avoidance culture (Hofstede, 2001).

The findings obtained from the interviews highlighted the importance of institutional context and social capital. These will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

CHAPTER 6. MOTIVATION

Introduction

This chapter focuses on Motivation and discusses the following two aspects:

1. The circumstances surrounding the start-up of the women's business, which is the situational constituent element of motivation;
2. The psychological intrinsic motives or needs that drove the women to their entrepreneurial activities, which is the personal constituent of motivation.

As it was mentioned in the introduction to the data analysis chapters (p. 136), the women's motivation for establishing and developing their business was the second theme that emerged during the interviews. This theme was uncovered when discussing their reasons for starting-up a business, their sources of inspiration and enthusiasm that motivated them to start up their business, and the vision that they had for their business.

Included in the section on "Circumstances of the Start-up" (6.1) is a discussion of the circumstances that led to the women's business start-up, which focuses on the first, but not necessarily the most important, reasons for them to become an entrepreneur. This section explores the scenarios of how the women got into business and those aspects, which differ from one story to another. In particular it includes the time when the women came into business; the extent to which the decision to start-up a business was intentional; situational factors that had a push or pull effect on the women to open their company.

The section on "Psychological Motives" (6.2) emphasizes those factors of motivation, which drove the women during their business life. These motives are more difficult to interpret, because the women often do not know themselves what motivated them. These motives emerged from the analysis of conversations with the women about inspiration, their likes and dislikes, personal values and the objectives of the respondents.

The analysis in this chapter of the interviews with the women has been undertaken by examining the nodes grouped under the node "Start-up", "Motives" and "Personality".

The nodes grouped under the tree node "Start-up" include the following sub-nodes:

- Circumstances of the start-up
- Moment of the start-up
- Feelings at the start-up
- First business idea
- First business trial
- Reasons to start-up a business

The sub-nodes grouped under the tree node "Motives" include:

- Change
- Family
- Other's benefit
- Interest
- Great dream
- Inspiration
- Independence
- Leadership
- Goals
- Desires
- Unwillingness to submit
- Social improvement

The nodes grouped under the tree node "Personality" includes:

- Independence
- Fate
- Views and believes
- Life philosophy
- Leadership
- Values

The analysis was also supported by using some nodes from the tree nodes "Attitudes" (to work and money) and "Biographical data" (changing life events; disaster). Like chapter 5, the structure of the sub-headings in chapter 6 does not correspond to the structure of the nodes. The particular way in which the nodes are dealt with is outlined in the Tables at the

beginning of each section.

Following the analysis, the discussion section (6.3) analyses the data presented in the first two sections, and relates the findings to the literature. In the light of the issues and themes that emerge from the data analysis the discussion section focuses on institutional theory in relation to situational factors of motivation; psychological theories of motivation and theoretical implications that emerge from the data analysis on psychological motives.

The final section (6.4) draws some conclusions, giving the summary of key findings and the overall theoretical implications.

6.1. Circumstances of the start-up

This section describes the circumstances that led the women to starting-up their businesses and the factors that played a role in their decision to establish businesses. The way the women entrepreneurs came into business differs by several aspects, including: time; the extent to which the decision to start-up a business was intentional; push or pull factors. In-keeping with the data analysis approach outlined in the methodology (section 4.3.2, p. 123) this section is based on the analysis of nodes, grouped under the tree-node “Start-up”. Table 6.1 illustrated which sub-nodes were used in each sub-section.

Table 6.1. Sub-nodes describing circumstances of the start-up

Sub-heading	Nodes
Time of coming into business	Circumstances of the start-up; moment of the start-up;
Intention versus opportunism	Circumstances of the start-up; feelings at the start-up;
Push and pull situational factors	First business idea; first business trial; reasons to start-up a business

6.1.1. Events leading to the women's business start-up

Regarding the time of starting-up a business the women entrepreneurs can be divided into 4 groups.

1) The "Early Birds" group

The first group can be called "early birds" because these are the women who started-up their business before 1991, when transition began. It includes two women – Diana and Tatyana. Diana started in 1988: a cooperative which formed on the basis research centre was reformed into industrial group, consisted of heavy engineering, petrol industry, finance and real estate. Tatyana started in 1987 setting up a joint venture in the software industry with an American partner. Both women made this decision voluntarily; they were content with their previous work and did not have to change their occupation. They did it because they were interested in trying something new.

2) The "Quick Response" group

This second group consists of those women, who started businesses soon after 1991 - the collapse of the Soviet Union. This group includes five women. These women found themselves in a difficult economic situation or uncomfortable psychological situation and were forced to start a business in order to survive. Vitaliya was unhappy with the chief executive of the hospital, where she was working. In her opinion he was a "fool and could not provide effective administration", which made her to think about starting her own clinic with a better organisation. Oksana and Lubov lost their previous jobs and opened companies in the spheres different from their previous profession. Galina left her previous job, because it was boring and because she did not like to be an employee. She tried many different businesses, including retail trade, real estate, car sale, and finally became a manager of a vegetarian restaurant and a tea shop. Viktoriya was left by her husband and had to support her small son alone, which led her to founding of a printing house.

Table 6.2 gives the details of scenarios, which led the women from this group to starting of their business.

Table 6.2. The “Quick response” group

Name	Year of start	Intention/circumstances*	Push/pull	Marital status**	Number of children	Initial motive/trigger
Vitaliya	1993	Int	Push	M	1	Dissatisfaction with job
Oksana	1993	Circ	Push	D	1	Money + Unemployment
Galina	1991	Circ	Push	M2	3	Money + Dissatisfaction with job
Lubov	1993	Int	Push	M	3	Unemployment + Children
Viktoriya	1993	Int	Push	D	1	Divorce + Child

* Int – intention; Circ – circumstances

** M – married; D – Divorced; S – Single; M2 – married second time

3) The “Career Makers” group

The third group includes those women, who changed their careers after 1991. Most of the women belong to the age group 35 to 45. They started their business after several years of having a career and professional growth, usually in the sphere of finance, assurance, consulting or law. This group includes seven women.

Most of these women started their careers at a junior position within a company, such as an auditor, accountant, economist or legal adviser. Then they were promoted to senior positions such as a head of audit department, chief accountant, financial director or director of legal department. Finally they became general directors and owners of consulting (Ludmila and Larisa), auditing (Elena and Marina), juridical (Polina) or leasing (Nataliya) companies.

Some of these women were promoted in their career within one company: Valeriya became the general director of the fleet of taxi after she has worked for one year as a financial director of this company. Nataliya worked three years as a senior legal adviser in a leasing company before she became general director of the company. Other women changed several companies before opening their own businesses (Marina, Ludmila, Elena, Larisa).

Marina

Marina’s story is typical for women following career in audit or consulting business: “When my boss decided to start his own small business, he suggested I go and do some accounting courses. I finished them and worked with him as an accountant. Then I was employed as a chief accountant in a production company and worked there five years. Then by recommendation of the company’s partner I became a financial director of a trade house. I obtained the second education in economics and professional qualification as auditor and tax consultant. I was forty that time. Then I opened my own business. The Trade House was my first client.”

Table 6.3 outlines the details of scenarios, which led the women from the “Career makers” group to starting of their business.

Table 6.3. The “Career makers” group

Name	Year of start	Intention/circumstances*	Push/pull	Marital status**	Number of children	Initial motive/trigger
Marina	1996	Circ	Pull	M	1	Friend’s advice
Ludmila	1997	Circ	Push	D	1	Responsibility for clients
Elena	2004	Circ	Pull	M	1	Professional development
Valeriya	2001	Circ	Pull	M2	1	Professional development + Dissatisfaction with job
Nataliya	2003	Circ	Push	S	1	Money
Larisa	1999	Circ	Push	M	2	Divorce + Children
Polina	2006	Int	Pull	S		Professional development

4) **The “Late Entrants” group**

The fourth group includes those women who came into business later than others – most of them started after 2000. The women in this group are quite young – ranging from 22 to approximately 40. Some of them stayed in the same profession during 1990s, others were unemployed until they opened their companies. This group includes 16 women. The motivation of these women is not dominated by one factor and includes different motives.

Table 6.4 summarises the details of scenarios, which led the women from the “Late comers” group to starting of their business.

Table 6.4. The “Late entrants” group

Name	Year of start	Intention/ circumstances*	Push/ pull	Marital status**	Number of children	Initial motive / trigger
Nadezhda	1999	Circ	Push	D		Responsibility for patients + Dissatisfaction with job
Irina	2004	Circ	Pull	M	1	Favourable offer
Nastya	2004	Int	Pull	S		Problems with boss
Olga	1999	Circ	Push	D	2	Problems with boss
Lidiya	2003	Circ	Push	D		Divorce
Zhanna	2006	Int	Pull	S		Interest
Alla	2000	Int	Pull	M	1	Interest
Svetlana	2005	Circ	Pull	M	1	Interest
Elizaveta	2004	Circ	Push	M	3	Children
Valentina	1999	Circ	Push	M	1	Money + Children
Veronika	2005	Int	Pull	S		Interest
Vera	2001	Int	Pull	M	1	Interest
Yuliya	2002	Int	Pull	D		Interest
Alisa	1998	Int	Pull	M	1	Unemployment
Daria	2000	Circ	Pull	M	2	Friend’s advice
Klavdiya	2002	Int	Pull	M	1	Interest

6.1.2 Intention versus opportunism

There appear to be two ways in which the women came to start up their business: by intention or by circumstances.

Intention

Intentional women entrepreneurs are those who came into business as a result of their own desire (section 2.2.2, p. 35).

Vera

Intention is described by Vera as being “the conscious desire and striving for something, which results in the actions directed towards the realization of this desire” (Vera). In other words intention is defined as a woman wanting to start-up her own business and do so it for herself; she knows how to do it and actually does it. Intention was perceived by the women as pull factor, although sometimes intention coexists with push factors. Usually this intention appears when a woman has an interest in or a passion for the sphere, or is infatuated with an idea. Intention can coincide with favourable circumstance, as it happened with Vera. She was very excited by the idea of creating an organization which will help women to fulfil their potential, express themselves and to discover their talents. When she was in the middle of thinking about this subject she received a call from a distant acquaintance, who invited her to make a pilgrimage to a convent in another town and to meet with a bishop for a conversation: “I told him about my idea of the women’s club. Instead of an answer he gave me an icon “Faith, Hope and Love” as a blessing. I called my club “Vernal”, which is the abbreviation of these words.”

Yuliya

Yuliya dreamed about making magnificent furs. She was fortunate to marry a person, who had a fur factory. He employed her at his factory, where she learned the technology of fur production and then opened her own fur salon. She believes that when you have a strong intention and desire, you can turn the circumstance to your own advantage. “Thoughts are material. If you want something strongly enough, you will get it.”

Opportunism

Opportunistic women entrepreneurs are those who came into business as a result of circumstances (section 2.2.2, p. 35). Circumstances bring a woman to opening a business because she “had to do something” (Lubov) - to find an outlet from this situation. Often she does not have another choice, or this choice was strongly influenced by external forces. If these forces were eliminated, a woman probably would not have become an entrepreneur. Circumstances can be unfavourable or favourable. The literature (section 3.1.2, p. 51) talks about these in terms of push and pull factors. Sometimes circumstances consist in an accident with negative or happy consequences. In the literature it is also called a “changing life event” (Cope, 2003), which was mentioned in relation to the women’s resilience (section 5.2.5, p. 166). This event can bring someone to start a business straightaway or it can start “a long chain of coincidences” (Svetlana) that lead to the creation of the business.

Svetlana

Svetlana had three “accidents”, which could be seen as part of a series of events: the real accident with a horse, when she broke her spine and was placed in a wheelchair; a coincidence during their holidays with her husband in France, when their guide made a surprise for them and invited them to a wine-testing event, which gave her an interest in wine; and a fortuitous meeting with people from the wine industry at a luxury exhibition, which led her to the Wine School. After she finished the School Svetlana opened her own wine cellar.

Nadezhda

Nadezhda’s method of blood-testing for food intolerance gained its popularity thanks to a lucky breakthrough: “We started to apply the system in 1996 in our research on children who suffered from diathesis. We selected a diet for them: it excluded food that has an index of antibodies higher than normal. By pure chance one mother wanted to test herself as well because she was breastfeeding her child and thought that if she followed the diet too the result would be more effective. As a result of the diet she lost a lot of weight - 25 kg. She went to some elite club and told her friends about her experience.” So many people wanted to test themselves and finally Nadezhda opened her own clinic for adults.

Galina

The way in which Galina got into business came about through a strange encounter in the underground: “My life story is not like everybody else – thanks to the acquaintance at the age of nineteen with a book “Hari Krishna” in Moscow metro. ... This book changed my vision of the world. From that moment on I started to wear glasses as I wanted to see people more clearly – to see how beautiful they are.” After this encounter Galina left her job (where she worked for three months), became a member in a buddhistic temple and started to sell these books. That was her first business.

6.1.3. Push and pull situational factors

The external forces, which influenced the women’s decision to become an entrepreneur, are usually called in the entrepreneurship literature pull or push factors (section 3.1.2, p.51). The respondents also used these words, talking about “being pulled or pushed towards business” or replacing these words with the synonyms “being attracted or compelled” to start-up a business.

Pull factors

Among pull factors the following cases can be mentioned:

- professional development and promotion;
- friends’ advice;
- favourable offer;
- interest in a particular business idea.

Professional development and promotion

The women’s career promotion was discussed in section 5.1.3 (p. 154). Professional development as a pull factor for becoming entrepreneurs is mainly applicable to professions such as doctors, accountants and lawyers. Their working experience gave these women knowledge and professional expertise, which proved to be very important in business. While making their careers they were able to build up the client base. In the sphere of finance, audit and law because professional skills and knowledge are very important, and, therefore, professional development usually leads to career promotion.

Marina contends that in audit business professional qualities are more important for a director than entrepreneurial qualities: “As a director I must meet with clients’ financial managers: so I must speak the professional language of the business with them and understand what we are talking about. I always check the reports of my auditors, as it is my signature on them, and I am responsible for any blunders: my client risks losing money and I risk losing the client.”

Within the field of professional business services the women gained not only professional skills and knowledge, but also useful contacts. Very often they meet their future clients on their previous work. Sometimes the company, which employed the women, became the first client of their own businesses. Elena opened her businesses after working as the director of internal audit department of a big holding company and continued to provide a service to the companies of this holding as an external audit company.

Sometimes the women used contacts which they gained while working in the sphere other than their present business. Janna worked as a consultant in the construction department of the Moscow city administration and knew many officials. When she opened her design bureau those officials became her clients. Valeriya and Natalya worked in political parties and used their relations with politicians to get advice and support for their business.

However, not all respondents mentioning professional development as a motivator perceived it unambiguously as a pull factor. For some (Ludmila and Nataliya), it was a push factor as much as a pull factor, as it involved taking responsibility for the company; Elena considered it a push factor for having burdened her with management duties.

Friends’ advice

Sometimes the decision to start-up a business was suggested by a friend or a colleague. Such support is especially important for those women who were not very self-confident and who had doubts about whether they could run a company. Thanks to the advice of her best friend Darya made up her mind to set up the “20 committee” - a non-formal and non-commercial partnership of leading Russian women entrepreneurs, whose annual business turnover exceeds 10 million dollars, or who are leaders in the industry. Marina also decided to study economics on the advice of her friend, and then was encouraged by the

same woman to open her own auditing company.

Favourable offer

Sometimes friends or colleagues can give more than advice. Irina was unemployed when her friends, a married couple, invited her to run a sewing workshop, which they owned, but which did not run because they had nobody to manage it. Irina gladly accepted this offer, although she never thought about sewing and she had to learn the technology from scratch.

Tatyana

With Tatyana, the offer was made by a near stranger. She and her husband met an American businessman at a computer exhibition, who proposed them to open a jointed venture. They became friends and partners. Although this encounter was an accident, Tatyana believes that “if we had not clicked as people and managed to overcome our social and culture differences there would not have been any jointed venture. Joseph came to Russia with a special mission: to understand the psychology of Russian people and to help build business in Russia. My husband and I, we spotted that the time was right to grab this opportunity.”

As mentioned in the earlier section discussing women in professional business services, they were often offered the chance, or encouraged to start their own business, because of their professional success and expertise.

Interest in the field of business or their own business idea

Some of the women started their business because they wanted to work in a particular profession, or had an idea to develop a technology or service. Sometimes the women did not have the opportunity to do it in their capacity as an employee. So, they turned to entrepreneurship in order to realize their business idea. Their ideas were usually aimed at introducing innovation to underdeveloped areas of the Russian market. The newness of the business attracted the interest of these women and their clients. The absence of competition, at least in the beginning, also helped them to develop their business quickly.

Innovative businesses included: a printing company (Viktoriya), a wine cellar (Svetlana), a

vegetarian restaurant and tea-shop (Galina), a fur salon (Yuliya), a ceramic dolls studio (Klavdiya), and a juridical firm which specialised in music copyright (Polina).

Viktoriya

Viktoriya is a bright example of how her interest in advertising and design led her to set up a big printing company, which soon became a leader on the market: “I started the business in 1989. At that time this business was not very developed and there were no jobs in this field. I was among the pioneers in this field.” Viktoriya worked as an editor and designed advertising booklets. So she had a good knowledge of advertising design and printing technology. She took a loan and bought very expensive printing machinery in Germany, which was not yet known in Russia. This allowed her to be the one who produced printing of quality, her risk proved to be worthwhile.

Push factors

Among push factors the following have been mentioned:

- need for money;
- need to support children;
- divorce;
- unemployment;
- responsibility for employees or clients;
- problems with the line manager;
- dissatisfaction with job.

As section 5.2.11 (p. 172) discussed, the women had high expectations from life; if a situation dissatisfied them, they sought ways to change it, ultimately escaping into their own businesses.

Need for money

Need for money is one of the most common factors that pushed the women in this sample into entrepreneurship. After the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 there was high inflation, which led to the rouble being devalued (section 2.1.3, p. 27). Salaries were insufficient to make ends meet. All savings were lost. Moreover, the state-owned enterprises, where most

of the people worked often delayed payroll payments and sometimes even stopped paying wages. People had to find other income means.

The phrase “I had to do something [to earn my living]” or “what else could I do” arose in many of the interviews. State of emergency stimulated imagination and accelerated wit. Galina started her entrepreneurial activity with a simple speculation: “The idea about a walkie-talkie came quite simply. I needed money badly and I saw this walkie-talkie in a shop, bought them and went to sell them on the open market (Luzhniki). It turned out well. I bought them for five and sold for 10 roubles.”

The need for money was not only a material motive, but also a psychological one, as it hit painfully at the self-esteem of the women: “When I found myself in the situation of having to go to the market choose food and clothes that were cheaper; watch every rouble spent – this situation just drove me crazy. The feeling of having no money, living “from one pay day to the next” was awful” (Valentina).

Need to support children

The need to earn money was stronger when a woman had children. The need to provide for their children’s needs was strong but even stronger was the desire to create a better future for their children: “I understood that my children should not have penniless mother – not just materially poor, but spiritually as well; because the words “god” and “wealth” have the same root (in Russian), just as “poverty” and “misfortune” also have the same root” (Elizaveta). The women wanted not only material wealth for their children, but also that they should have the freedom to express themselves: “My first goal was the children, their education, to make them be able to stand on their own feet. Also to change their mentality: because to be a slave yourself is one thing, but to be a mother of a slave is unbearable” (Valentina).

The need to support children was especially important because of the strong family values in Russian society, where children are regarded “the flowers of life” (Larisa) and are often financially supported by the parents for a long time till they have grown up – usually into their twenties when they get their degree, but sometimes even longer. Furthermore, because now there is less opportunity to acquire good education for free as it was earlier in

times, parents often have to pay a lot for the education of their children (Elizaveta). When the border was opened after the collapse of the Soviet Union, parents received an opportunity to send their children to study abroad, which was even more prestigious, but also more expensive (Nataliya). Sometimes women did it not for prestige but because of safety considerations as was the case of Viktoriya. She had to send her son to study in London as it was dangerous for him to stay in Moscow because of the political conflict around his mother's business. For Russians it is considered normal that "children are the biggest expense item in the family budget" (Elena).

As with professional development, the need to provide for offspring as a push factor was subjectively perceived, and not shared by all respondents: Elena and Elizaveta regarded children a pull factor as much as a push factor, as "children are life's meaning and greatest joy" (Elena).

Divorce

A divorce left some of the women to shouldering all the financial burden: "I went into business because I had to support my child. Alone. ... If I did not have to support my child, I would be working as an employee or just being more relaxed about it" (Larisa).

Divorce in itself, regardless of its material costs, can be classed as a push factor. First, it is a strong emotional shock, which women try to suppress by switching their attention to some intense and exciting activity, which can be extreme sport or entrepreneurship. Secondly, divorce "frees up the time, which used to be spent on the beloved hubby for more effective use" (Lidiya).

However, even those women, who were married, felt the burden to provide for their children's prosperity because Russian men were seen as being less adaptable in a difficult situation: "They (men) boasted their high education and regarded it below their dignity to go trading on the market" (Oksana). "I am a cultured educated person. Business is an ignoble occupation for a person with a noble family surname", Alisa's husband liked to repeat. Nadezhda explains that in her eyes women were able to have different attitude: "Women could spit on their diplomas and go trading on the market because by nature they will tend for their children; it is an instinct, not logic or preference."

Unemployment

Unemployment was another common reason for women to start their own business. Some had to earn their living. Other women, who could afford stay at home, found that they could not stay without work for a long time. After couples of years of sitting at home they became bored and craved for some activity: “After I gave birth to my child I stayed at home and did not work. My husband earned enough to maintain the family. But after 2 years it became unbearable. I wanted to do something and started to look for some occupation which would be interesting and would give me flexibility” (Alisa).

Responsibility for subordinates or clients

Just as women felt responsible for their children they often felt responsible for their staff, colleagues, customers and clients. Responsibility felt for employees has been discussed in relation to women’s prudence or risk-aversion and external locus of control (sections 5.2.4, p. 165 and 5.2.12, p. 174). For example, when a company they worked in as an employee or a manager was at risk of collapse because of the mistakes of the previous administration, the women took the burden of running a company upon themselves because they could not “desert” people they worked with and people needed them. The logic applied here was similar applied by the women, who talked about protecting their family. This logic was called “call of duty” and often women’s patience and wisdom saved the family, similarly as their discretion and prudence saved their enterprise.

Ludmila felt that she had to register her own audit company when the license of the company she worked in expired, because she could not let down her clients: “Because the company did not belong to me, I could not extend the license. Without a license I could not serve the clients: so, I thought, what am I going to do next. This was when I decided to start up my own business.”

Nadezhda opened her private clinic because she did not want to leave her assistants without a job and her patients without a service: “I felt an enormous responsibility for the patients. It was not because I could not find another source of income: I was a good doctor and could have found a job even abroad. But when I saw the results of my method, that it could help people, it was the main reason for starting the business. ... Also there were the

people, who worked with me, and I felt a responsibility for them. I could not let these people down.”

However, both Nadezhda and Ludmila stated they perceived this responsibility not only as a push, but equally as a pull factor; this perception varied with situations, time or even emotional state.

Dissatisfaction with job

As section 5.1.3 (p. 153) discussed, women’s attitude to their job depends strongly on their group and on workplace atmosphere or morale. Usually, when the women talked about being unhappy at a former work place, it was due to an unfriendly collective and/or a “fool” of a boss, who was incompetent at managing. Nadezhda changed several hospitals during her medical practice: “Most of all I disliked the collective. For doctors, especially young doctors, the most parasitic structure is the middle level of medical staff – the nurses. If you don’t establish a good relationship with them, you are dead.”

Vitaliya was irritated by the stupidity or “couldn’t care less” attitude of the boss and the ineffectiveness of the administration: “When there was an opportunity to start a business I did not want to work under a stupid boss. We wanted to do business in the way that we wanted to do so.” Because many women had a high need to achievement (section 5.2.1, p. 160) the impossibility of seeing effective results from their work, or the value of their contribution, within a structurally flawed organisation often left them frustrated.

Ludmila did not like a very formal atmosphere at her work place and could not get used to western business culture: “That company was unbearable, very tough, especially for a Soviet person. I found this Western business culture difficult to adapt to. There was no informal exchange with colleagues. Friendships and relationships were not encouraged.”

Some of the women were disappointed by their job because it did not meet their high expectations. Larisa hoped that she would develop science, technology and modern equipment at her post in the Ministry of Defence, but soon found out that “there was nothing modern there: The bosses were all tyrants, who cared only about their personal

career promotion and compilation of incomprehensible reports that they used to justify their high salary. When I saw that I lost any desire to work “(Larisa).

Some of the respondents spoke of their job frustration and slow career advancement, which they put down to gender discrimination: “... so they took him as an administrator only because he was a man” (Nadezhda). As it was mentioned in sections 2.1.2 and 2.2.3, while the formal gender equality was secured by law, women still hit the glass ceiling: “The problem in our society is that men prefer not to see women entrepreneurs. That is why we need women’s organizations to make women more visible and significant” (Diana). Valeriya also suggested that attitude towards women was worse in the ministries than in business. It was for this reason that Valeriya left her job in the party to take a post of a financial director in a taxi fleet.

Problems with the line manager

Sometimes the women left their jobs to be independent because they did not get on well with the boss: “I was working as an employee and was absolutely content. But when I became vice-president I did not get on with the president, who thought it was fine to harass me - so, I had to leave” (Olga). Alla also “escaped” from her post after being harassed by her boss: “I was working in a hospital and I did not get on with the chief consultant. He was a man. He harassed me. He was very old and I was a young girl. It was very unpleasant.”

Vitaliya’s boss tried to involve her in dishonest dealings: “Unfortunately it was at the time when free trade had began (1992-1993). And the employers of the hospital had to try and sell a drug which reduced cholesterol to all patients, whether they needed it or not. ... As I did not sell this drug I was moved to another department, where the work was quite boring. ... So, I left.”

To sum up, the women shared the following reasons for leaving their previous jobs: they felt frustrated or held back in their career advancement; they disliked the work atmosphere and/or company culture; they did not get on with their boss or collective; or simply wanted to be their own boss and do things in their own way. The data presented in section 6.1 is summarized in Table 6.5 “Factors which led women to start-up business”.

Table 6.5. Factors which led women to start-up business

Pseudonym	Group*	Intention	Circumstances	Push	Pull	Professional development	Friends advice	Favour offer	Interest	Money	Children	Divorce	Unemployment	Responsibility before employee/client	Problems with boss	Dissatisfaction with job
Marina	CM		1		1	1	1	1								
Ludmila	CM		1	1		1		1						1		1
Elena	CM		1		1	1		1			1					
Vitaliya	QR	1		1											1	1
Nadezhda	LE		1	1				1	1			1		1	1	1
Irina	LE		1		1		1	1		1			1	1		
Diana	EB	1			1				1							
Oksana	QR		1	1						1		1	1			1
Tatyana	EB		1		1	1		1	1							
Valeriya	CM		1		1	1										1
Natalya	CM		1	1						1	1		1			
Nastya	LE	1			1				1						1	
Olga	LE		1	1						1					1	
Darya	CM		1		1		1		1							
Lidiya	LE		1	1						1		1	1			
Zhanna	LE	1			1		1		1							
Galina	QR		1	1			1		1	1	1	1				1
Lubov	QR	1		1						1	1		1	1		
Viktoriya	QR	1		1					1	1	1	1				1
Larisa	CM		1	1		1				1	1	1	1			1
Alla	LE	1			1				1						1	
Svetlana	LE		1		1		1		1		1		1			
Elizaveta	LE		1	1			1			1	1		1			
Valentina	LE		1	1						1	1		1			
Polina	CM	1			1	1		1	1							
Veronika	LE	1			1				1							
Vera	LE	1			1		1		1							
Yuliya	LE	1			1				1							
Alisa	LE	1			1							1	1			
Klavdiya	LE	1			1				1							
Score		13	17	13	17	7	8	7	15	11	9	7	10	4	5	8

*EB – “Early birds”, QR – “Quick response”, CM – “Career makers”, LE – “Late entrants”

6.2. Motives

Motivation has several layers. The factors mentioned in section 6.1 were the responses given to the question “Why did you decided to start-up a business?” Later in the conversation, however, the respondents revealed additional motivators. These other factors underpinned the more obvious reasons, influencing the women not only to initiate the business, but also throughout its operations. These more private motives are linked to inner desires and aspirations, and therefore reflect each respondents’ value system and psychological character. Intrinsic motives of this type emerged when considering: “Why do you stay in business?”; “What are your objectives?”; “What inspires you?”; and “What do you like the most in being an entrepreneur?”

the women discussed broadly diverse subjects. Some themes echoed in many interviews; others were unique to one or two respondents. Some named only one or two motives, others three or four. Although several motives might exist, usually just one dominated.

In-keeping with the data analysis approach outlined in the methodology (section 4.3.2, p.123) the analysis of the sub-nodes grouped under the tree-node “Motives” and “Personality”, as well as certain sub-nodes from the tree nodes “Attitudes” and “Biographical data”, permitted marking out fourteen different motives that became the basis for the sub-heading structure.

Table 6.5 illustrates which sub-nodes appeared in each sub-section.

Table 6.6. Sub-nodes describing intrinsic motives

Sub-heading	Sub-Nodes under "Motives"	Sub-Nodes under "Personality"	Sub-Nodes under "Attitudes" and "Biographical data"
Change	Change	Views and beliefs	Changing life events
Rehabilitation from tragedy	Change	Views and beliefs, Life philosophy, Fate	Changing life events; Disaster
Other's benefit	Family; Helping others; Social improvement	Views and beliefs, Values	
Recognition	Desires		
Independence	Independence	Independence	
Ownership	Desires; Independence		
Money	Desires		Attitude to money
Leadership	Leadership; Unwillingness to submit	Leadership	
Achievement	Goals; Desires		
Self-actualisation	Interest; Goals		
Creation	Inspiration; Goals	Values, Life philosophy	
Great dream	Great dream; Inspiration	Values, Life philosophy	
Interesting job	Interest; Inspiration		Attitude to work
Idea	Goals; Inspiration; Social improvement	Values, Views and beliefs, Life philosophy	

6.2.1. Change

Section 5.2.5 (p. 165) addressed changing life events (Cope, 2003) in relation to the women's resilient attitude to failure. The motivation for change is different from that of a life-changing event, as it plays the role of internal rather than external factor of motivation. If a life-altering event forces a woman into dramatic changes, the motivation that drives change also makes the women desire and welcome the changes. However, a life-changing event can also accompany any motivation driven by the desire for change.

The theme of change arose in eight interviews. Although not all the women talked about change, the concept was implicitly present in every biography. At some moment, each one

realised that she wanted to change something in her life, wanted something different from what she had. This realisation did not come instantaneously. As Svetlana said (section 5.2.5, p. 166), a life-changing event can be the last thing to make a person realise that they desire or require change. There is a long lead up to change: “This realisation comes both slowly and quickly. Everyone experiences it in their own way; everyone needs a special sort of push. The last straw breaks the camel’s back and galvanises the individual into activism, to take charge of their life and change it” (Klavdiya).

Three women (Alisa, Darya and Polina) declared that wanting to change their lives was the specific principal reason for starting their business. Their stories of change are briefly outlined below.

Alisa and Darya wanted to change how they lived; Polina wanted to change herself as a person. By actively changing their circumstances, these three transformed their existence and their personalities.

Alisa

Alisa could not articulate precisely what she wanted to change. She just felt a desire to change *something*: “For every woman, there comes a time when she feels something must change, something new added. A woman, like water, requires movement: either it flows, or it stagnates. A woman who stands still, wilts away.” She wanted to try something absolutely new, something she had never done before and had never even considered doing. After 21 years of working in research as a geologist, she decided to organize beauty contests for mothers and children: “I had been working with stones and soil – now I longed to work with women, with beautiful women. It was completely new – exactly what I needed. The new work made me change everything: my style of clothes, the way I spoke.”

Darya

Darya started her business seeking to improve her quality of life: “I wanted to prove myself to the world in a new form, to achieve a more elevated circle of relationships, to stop playing minor roles.” She had worked for 23 years as a researcher and senior lecturer in History faculty at the elite Moscow State University. At some point, she had begun feeling “stunted”; she thought her students were losing interest. A friend recommended her for a job managing a mentoring programme organized by the Association of American

Women Entrepreneurs to support and teach Russian women entrepreneurs. There she met both Russian and American women entrepreneurs; that was how the idea of creating the *Committee of Twenty* appeared. It was patterned on the *Committee of 200* in the United States, bringing together the most successful and respectable women entrepreneurs in the country. The new work made Darya's life "much more dynamic, bringing new people" into her life, leaving her feeling that she is "at the centre of events."

Polina

Polina's reasons for becoming the head of a business were really about wanting to change herself as a person rather than just her circumstances. Polina had lost her mother at the tender age of 18; the new business would come to fill the huge void left by that loss: "After her death I lived on, alone, in our three-bedroom apartment. I had to fill this emptiness. I had to start a new life, become self-sufficient, make my own decisions and accept responsibility for them."

Polina's motto was: "If you want to change the world, change yourself." The world she wanted to change was the Russian Federation, more precisely, its legal environment. As a recent law graduate, she objected to the discrepancies between the Russian legal framework and the norms of a democratic state. It was not the laws that she perceived as being deficient, it was their implementation: "In Russia the law is often an instrument of politics; the parliament is totally pro-presidential; the courts are dependent on the government, although the separation of powers exists in principle. Laws are not respected. People believe the law is not fair and refuse to comply. Russians are not used to obeying laws unless the risk of harsh punishment is great."

Polina understood that she could not change this situation. All that was left for her to do, therefore, was to change herself: "to become more organized, responsible, self-reliant, self-confident and independent." After three years working as head of the legal department of a radio station, she was invited to head a firm arranging and selling music licenses. Polina is proud that her firm defends intellectual property rights by "providing honest companies an opportunity to run their businesses legally."

6.2.2. Rehabilitation from tragedy

Four women (Lidiya, Svetlana, Polina, Klavdiya) started their businesses to overcome personal tragedy. Tragedy as a life-changing event and a “catalyst of action” (Svetlana) was discussed in section 5.2.5 (p. 166) in relation to resilience. Polina thinks that business helps one “redirect attention from grief.”

Lidiya

Lidiya’ husband left; she loved him dearly. A music teacher, she worked loved her job though it paid only pennies; she had been totally financially dependent on her husband. His departure left her in the lurch: “I was thrust into such a state of distress; I needed a way out. Entrepreneurship delivered.” She devised a business model not unrelated to her previous specialty – her firm buys, repairs and resells pianos. There are only six other such firms in all of Moscow today. By taking up all her time, efforts and attention, the business helped her heal: “By transforming the energy of loss into positive action, a tragedy is easier to overcome, in less time. A philosophical approach is needed – accepting every event as a learning opportunity, seeing the other side of things, the silver lining to the cloud.”

Svetlana

Svetlana had a severe riding accident (sections 6.1.2, p. 199). She recalled the difficult rehabilitation period: “This injury was an awful blow. My depression was severe. I wept for three months straight.” The turning point came when her son, just four, visited. He did not recognize her; he refused to give her the flower brought for Mother: “I realised that how much we would all lose if I continued acting like a vegetable, if I allowed it. And I started to pull myself out of the darkness, any way I could.”

She began by changing her attitude towards her disability: “My physical condition determined my mindset, my outlook. Having once thought the worst part of the trauma was the loss [the ability to walk], now I knew that I had not lost everything, only a part of my life. This way of thinking helps people with severe trauma keep living, not merely existing, but living, and finding joy in life, seeing its fascination... Because even if your legs stop, you can in fact replace them.”

In the next stage, she started socialising again – visiting family, relatives, friends and the severely injured. She also read philosophy: “I found strength in the Bible. I can’t say I’m especially religious; Soviet atheism left its mark on me. But after the accident I turned to God.” Emotional peace alone, however, was not enough. She longed to feel happy again: “The role of a housewife now dissatisfied me. I became interested in everything else. I wanted to be informed. My husband earned enough for both of us; income was not a concern. I wanted to prove myself as a full-fledged member of our family and society.” She found her calling in oenology, opening a luxury wine cellar.

Klavdiya

Klavdiya’s car accident did no lasting injury to her, but killed her husband. In the hospital, her roommate consoled her with fairy tales. These stories revived her childhood love of porcelain dolls, cultivated by her mother’s birthday presents. Once discharged, she started collecting dolls, then entered the School of Doll Design and turned to making them. She founded the Moscow Union of Doll Designers, launching a charity project: “Dolls give life to children.” The proceeds from auctions of dolls buy equipment for maternity hospitals: “The project aims to save the life of newborns. We want to show that dolls bring joy.” She also donates dolls to needy children: “I know what a present means to a person in need. While I was in this terrible depression, it was the woman who presented me with her wonderful fairy tales who was a saviour to me.” Klavdiya’s venture helped her to overcome a shocking loss through a remarkable campaign that brings joy, consolation and wonder into many lives, as well as her own.

6.2.3. Altruism or Concern for others

Klavdiya's case establishes another important motive for women entrepreneurs – the desire to help others, to give back to society. This can be called an altruistic motivation. Helping others includes helping family members; specific groups; charities – even one's own employees and clients. This motive resonates with feelings of responsibility for employees and clients, one of the push factors named earlier (section 6.1.3, p. 206). The desire to help was articulated by 10 women who named it as one of the deciding factors for them.

Family

The first object of women's altruism is often, of course, their own children, or more generally their family. Svetlana was stimulated in her long-way rehabilitation from her injury by her love for her son: "I wanted to contribute. Above all, to play a positive role in his life. Not just for him to be proud of me, but for him to see me as a full-fledged member of society."

Larisa

Larisa wanted her audit business to help her educate her children: "At one time, I had decided to become a good homemaker, a good mother. But when my oldest turned nine, I saw he needed something more, not just a mother, and a loving home. He needs to interact with the world, to move in it and process it. He needs helpers. So, to help him, I need to move into the centre of things: to become sensitive to trends, to keep up. Business, especially accountancy, seemed to be a good way to go. It meant understanding the laws, economics, people. At home after work, I always discuss the day with my children."

Both Elena and Valentina named their children's education as their chief goal, a push factor (section 6.1.3, p. 204). Valeriya, first attracted to business for publicity, independence and leadership, later found other sources of inspiration: "Now when I have a baby, I know who I'm working for. My business benefits my family. And I see the business as part of the family."

Society

Besides family, the women also wanted to benefit others: to “teach them wisdom” (Vera), to “bring them pleasure” (Svetlana), to “do something good and useful for people” (Elena). As described in the section on push factors (6.1.3, p. 206) Nadezhda’s main motivation was her patients and subordinates.

Svetlana wanted not just to sell wine to her clients, but to make them educated wine connoisseurs: “My goal is to invite people to learn something new about wine, something rare, requiring discernment. I want to teach them to understand wine so that every sip will bring that proverbial *veritas* that insight people seek in wine, along with pleasure.”

Tatyana tries to contribute to the personal and professional growth of her colleagues: “I have not lost the good little girl inside who wants earnestly for everyone to be happy. We come into this world to love. We must make this world better, adding colour, light and perfume. The kindness we do multiplies, fills the world and comes back to us again.”

6.2.4. Recognition and publicity

If some women were motivated by altruism, the desire to give, others were similarly driven by the desire to get something back – attention, admiration, interest, respect, praise, pride, recognition of their services. Often these motivations co-existed in the same woman. It is natural to expect gratitude in exchange for efforts on behalf of humankind. Five women named a hunger for recognition or social prominence as one of leading factors in their motivation.

Svetlana wanted “to be of value” to her son, to keep his interest and make him “proud of her” (section 6.2.3). Elaborating later, she clarified that the pride mattered less than shame at being pity: “I did not want the pity. I did not want condescension. I wanted to stay engaged in the world, active, for my husband and my son, not to be just another common employer, but to do something that held my interest. Because I knew that if I found what interests me, I will flourish faster and achieve more. When I do, others will notice: if I am engaged and interested in life, I will be interesting for them.”

Larisa appreciates that her business helped her earn the respect of offspring: “The most important part of all: I see the change in my children’s regard for me. From just a mother who can offer advice I transformed into a mother who is a partner. My business and I command a lot of respect.”

Elizaveta wanted to help her children so that they would remember her: “I wanted my children, their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren to remember me and my husband as people who changed the history of the clan.”

The desire for recognition propelled many women to academic excellence (section 5.1.2, p.147). Later this same desire motivated them to succeed in business. The desire to please or impress others often reinforced their need for achievement (section 5.2.1, p. 160). Marina said her perception of success was based on how others saw her: “I never strove much. But it was always very important for me that people enjoy my company, that no one would ever be ashamed to claim me as a friend. And that includes not only personal friends, but also colleagues, partners. I cannot disappoint them.”

6.2.5. Independence

While 12 women were motivated in some way by their interactions with others (sections 6.2.3 and 6.2.4), eight women sought independence from others -- from their money, commands, opinions and judgment. The desire for independence thus takes three forms: financial independence; freedom of action; resistance to subordination.

Financial independence

This motive resonates with the push factor “need for money” (section 6.1.3, p. 203).

Oksana

Oksana went into business because to be independent from her husband, whom she later divorced: “I wanted to support myself. Once, before I worked, my first husband said: ‘Would you like to go to work? We need some more money.’ It made me realise that counting on someone else to take care of me is a mistake.”

Freedom of action

Although independence often requires money, some women distinguished between accumulating money itself as the source of wealth, and wanting money as the gateway to freedom. Polina made this distinction clear: “It is not the money I want. It is the freedom of self-actualization money confers.”

Galina worshiped the freedom she gained from entrepreneurship: “A feeling of freedom I would not trade for anything. I could go to any company and earn much more. But I don’t want to do someone’s bidding. I want freedom to act as I see fit. This position distinguishes entrepreneurs from others. Some people can work under somebody else’s command; others cannot.”

Inability to work for someone else – Resistance to subordination

Six women found being an employee unbearable: “Creating a business was never my goal. I could just never have anybody manage or lead me. I prefer to be the leader” (Veronika). Valeriya could not submit to anyone less competent: “I can be the second-in-command only if the leader is more interesting, more brilliant. Otherwise I don’t understand why I should take orders from a person of inferior ability.”

Previous employers dissatisfied both Vitaliya and Olga (section 6.1.3, p. 208), thereby motivating them to start businesses to run “my way” (Vitaliya), “free from incompetent management” (Olga): “We spend most of our life at work; we have to love it” (Olga).

6.2.6. Ownership

In consonant proximity to the independence motive is the desire to possess something of one’s own. Such chords resonated in five interviews. They reveal the desire “to have business which is all yours, which you can develop and be responsible for, and then be proud of” (Valentina). Alla compares it with “the desire to have a child to nurture.”

Alla

Alla turned down an offer to collaborate with her husband, but preferred a business of her own: “I had tried before to help my husband in his business, but it didn’t interest me. I wanted to be more than his assistant. I wanted something of my own, but I didn’t know what.” She developed a confectionary chain of shops and cafes.

Nadezhda felt the instinct of ownership when she was experienced threats to her invested time, energy and professional expertise: “My partner wanted to open a private clinic. At first he helped me, then he wanted all the business for himself. He decided to force me out, leaving me at most as a doctor-employee. It was awful for me; I had done everything myself, I had built up a little business that was my own, and they took it from me. They left me only crumbs.”

Larisa also decided to open her own company to defend her rights of ownership as an auditor/accountant: “I did not want to turn over my hard work, that I had done myself, to somebody else without even becoming a partner.”

6.2.7. Money

Five women mentioned money as a principal motivator. Three were motivated by the desire to earn money only while they had lacked it: “We were working and working... We thanked God that we had a chunk of work available that we liked. And we were keen to earn more money” (Oksana).

Only two women said money motivated or inspired them. Olga and Irina frankly admitted that they are “greedy.” Irina believes “Greed is one of the indispensable qualities of an entrepreneur.” Olga compared herself with her favourite celebrity Sharon Stone in her willingness and tirelessness to earn: “Sharon Stone spoke to me when she described herself as a squirrel who likes to earn money so much that she is as active as a squirrel, and then investing, investing, investing.”

6.2.8. Leadership

Four women said they were motivated by a need to lead. Although 13 women believed themselves to have leadership qualities (Table 5.5, p. 175), leadership was not the main driver for all.

The women's admiration by power in its various forms was discussed in relation to their role models (section 5.1.1, p. 145). Sometimes a leadership drive was encouraged by the women's parents and then reinforced through experience as student leaders in youth organisations (section 5.2.10, p. 171). Oksana, used to being the leader from childhood, showed the strongest drive to lead: "Leadership inspires me most. My parents brought me up as a leader, gave me this desire to be the leader even back in grade school." Valeriya associated her desire to lead with the desire for recognition and respect: "I always liked to direct, though not to command. Still, I like others to consider my opinion." Galina enjoys the leader's opportunity to influence.

As entrepreneurs, the women tended to exert personal leadership through informal authority rather than executive command based on personal power: "When I speak about leadership I don't mean leading a group of people by wielding power over them that is based on money or my formal powers of command. I mean nurturing a collective led by a transformational leader" (Lubov).

6.2.9. Achievement

If some women wanted to lead because of "the sweet taste of power" (Oksana), others wanted to lead in order to achieve a result. Achievement figures in the motivations of seven women.

Vitaliya described her feelings after her first achievement as a doctor: "I remember performing my first surgery. All night I read manuals, but when the time came to execute, everything was different from the instruction books: a lot of blood, you can't tell which vessel to cut. Then, when the operation was over and a success, I experienced such euphoria... I had done something great, something important. It was intoxicating."

Nadezhda confirmed the exhilaration of a successful operation: “It was not the awareness of having saved someone’s life: the operation was minor; just the awareness of doing something, something serious, self-sufficient, work. It must be the same in every field: when you are doing something real, especially health-related, it’s a high. You see yourself helping someone, and you wouldn’t trade that feeling for the world.”

As it was discussed earlier many women were driven by the desire to achieve during their studies (section 5.1.2, p. 147). Often, however, achievement was pursued in order to confer recognition for success (section 5.2.1, p. 160). For example, Yuliya opened her fur salon in order to impress her husband, who had a fur factory, and to prove to him that “I was talented enough and capable of achieving success by myself.”

Ludmila’s decision to stay in business instead of accepting a job offer comes out of being results-driven: “I want results. Employees can’t control outcomes. They play a role in the result, but if management fails, they’re helpless.” Ludmila’s words highlight how the impossibility to see the result of their work in the workplace intensified the women’s achievement motivation (sections 5.1.3, p. 153 and 6.1.3, p. 207).

6.2.10. Self-actualization

Achievement is related to self-actualization. The respondents described their self-actualization motive as a desire to nurture personal talents, to apply competence and satisfy inner ambitions. The distinctions they drew between achievement and self-actualization were subtle yet important. Several women (Nadezhda, Diana, Nataliya) argued that the achievement motive drives the seeker to pursue a particular result for that outcome’s own intrinsic worth; whereas the self-actualization motive impels the seeker of a result to prove herself, her own worth. Eight women named self-actualization as one of their main motives.

Nadezhda discerned that her desire to help patients competed with her ambitions as a scientist: “Research is separate from treatment; you do something without knowing there’s a payoff. It satisfies personal ambitions more than patient care might: it provides a sense of accomplishment, of milestones. It drew me, but not exclusively: I also needed human interaction.”

Valentina's achievement motive also combined with the desire to help others: she started-up a business to develop her own talents for her family's benefit: "I desired creative work to showcase my talents while helping my family."

Self-actualization is integral to Darya's philosophy of life: "Whatever you have, you must use." Galina also believed talents are meant to be used, even as a divine commandment: "God-given energy burns within me. My planet is Mars, the warrior who commands, directs his anger to a cause and brings strength to support it. If I don't apply this energy, it will consume me. If I don't go into battle, I turn to ash." Nataliya explained her decision to go into business in a single straightforward and powerful phrase: "Because I can."

6.2.11. Creative power

Although the power to create something that did not exist before can be regarded as part of self-actualization, the respondents marked it out as a separate motive, arguing that while self-actualization presumes a creative impulse, it does not necessarily involve creative powers. Creative power, authorship, as a motive for originating businesses was mentioned by six respondents. They include the women with artistic businesses: the dollmaking studio (Klavdiya), the fashion designers (Yuliya and Nastya), the musical theatre (Veronika), the design studio (Zhanna); also, two women who defined creative expression not through art per se, but in developing new businesses which had not existed during the Soviet era: the vegetarian restaurant (Galina) and the printing company (Viktoriya).

Viktoriya described the process of creation: "Doing something that hasn't been done by others is fascinating. What's there isn't enough for you; you think: I'll try doing it differently. You build a model. The process itself captivates: first, the idea; then, the visualisation of your desire; then the creation of a model, working out how to pull it off."

While Viktoriya is attracted to the process of creation, Zhanna most loves the novelty: "The new inspires me. I have an idea about something others don't even imagine yet. This new vision draws me like a beacon; it delights me, fills me with bliss." Yuliya and Nastya, couturiers, dreamt "to create beauty, to surround yourself with beauty and to deliver beauty to the people" (Nastya), "to make our women look gorgeous" (Yuliya).

6.2.12. The Great Dream

Five women entered business to realize their great dream. While for four of them the business itself was the object of their dreams, for Elizaveta it was merely the means to attaining her dream. In motivational terms, the essence of the dream is immaterial. It is attitude that matters – the powerful yearning itself, and the energy it provides.

Zhanna

Zhanna always dreamt of interior design. Finally, after developing connections in the city government, working for its infrastructure department, she could surrender completely to her passion: “This great dream gave me new energy and a new direction.” Elizaveta holds the great dream as the strongest motive, ranking it above Maslow’s pyramid: “A great dream is something that compels you from inside, constantly. And any difficulty whatsoever seems insignificant by comparison.”

Nastya and Yuliya

Nastya was passionate about designing clothes: “From childhood, I dreamt of smart clothes. I loved dressing up. Now I dream of my own fashion shows.” Yuliya dreamt of luxurious furs: “Furs were my passion. I visualised dream furs such as no one had ever made. My furs are unusual, elaborate, stylish, decorated them with precious gems and Swarovski crystals, lined with hand-embroidered silk.”

Elizaveta

Elizaveta’s dream was a prosperous future for her entire clan: “When I asked myself what is my own great dream, I thought of my forebears, my great-grandfather who nurtured eleven children. I saw my destiny in nurturing children. My great dream is to change the destitute condition of our clan... I dream about establishing a proper ancestral nest for our descendants, with a birch grove, a pond and a small castle.”

6.2.13. Interesting job

Some women lack a clear grand vision, seeking simply after something interesting to do. Seven women in search an interesting job went into business: “I am not made for the kitchen; I like working; business provides more opportunities” (Irina).

For Diana, an interesting life enables happiness: “I needed to invest my energy. I had always wanted something, but I couldn’t say exactly what: only that it must be interesting.”

An interesting job topped Marina’s objectives; she could even contemplate leaving her own audit business for “more interesting” employment. She confided planning to create another business in a completely different discipline, which she kept secret. Curiosity and a thirst for more intriguing work emboldened her to search for greater personal satisfaction.

Polina also associated curiosity with entrepreneurship. Asked to describe a successful person, she portrayed him/her as a “curious, concerned and impulsive person who has a vast field of interests.” Valeriya defined an interesting job as one giving opportunity to acquire new knowledge: “Constantly learning new things is what makes work interesting.”

6.2.14. An Idea

Two women were motivated by an idea or ideology they wanted to bring to life or promote.

Lubov

Lubov created the women’s organization “Businesswomen of Russia” to support Russian women entrepreneurs. She organized a contest to identify successful new candidates: “It occurred to us to represent Russian women entrepreneurs internationally, to raise their profile and amplify their impact, their voices and their worth. That was how the idea of the contest that we called “Success” was born... My faith in ideas as something that can be brought into being inspires me” (Lubov).

Vera

Vera systematized women entrepreneurs' clubs into a network, also bringing in women of influence from socially or politically powerful families into a philanthropic action group: "Our club was created as an institute or an instrument to allow every member to find herself, her way: to empower them to become this best and perfect self which everyone knows and loves, but cannot always show sufficiently. When a woman comes to our centre for the first time, the first thing we teach her is a very beautiful ceremony called 'The Heart of a Rose.' We use a very beautiful flower and very beautiful words. The meaning of these words is that every human being, but especially a woman, must give herself to the world, opening all the sides of her personality, of her unique individual essence, in the same way that rose petals open in her hands. Because only when the rose blooms we can enjoy its beauty completely."

The presence and distribution of the fourteen motives discussed above in section 6.2, as factors in the structure of women entrepreneurs' motivation, appears in Table 6.7 "Intrinsic motives".

Table 6.7. Intrinsic motives

Name	Change	Rehabi- litation	Concern for others	Recog- nition	Inde- pendence	Owner- ship	Money	Leader- ship	Achieve- ment	Self- actualisation	Creation	Great dream	Interesting job	Idea
Marina				2	3								1	
Ludmila									1				2	
Elena			1	3						2				
Vitaliya					1			3	2					
Nadezhda			1			2			3	4				
Irina							1						2	
Diana									2	3			1	
Oksana					1		2	3						
Tatyana			1						2					
Valeriya			4	2	3			1						
Natalya							3		1	2				
Nastya											1	2		
Olga					2		1						3	
Darya	1									2				
Lidiya		1											2	
Zhanna						3					2	1		
Galina					1			3		2	4			
Lubov			3		2									1
Viktoriya									3		1		2	
Larisa			1	2		3								
Alla						1							2	
Svetlana		1	2	3						4				
Elizaveta			2									1		
Valentina						1				2				
Polina	1	2			3									
Veronika				1							3	2		
Vera			2											1
Yuliya											2	1		
Alisa	1													
Klavdiya		1	3								2			
Score	3	4	10	6	8	5	4	4	7	8	7	5	8	2

1 means the most important motive, as perceived by the respondent, 4 – the least important.

6.3. Theoretical discussion

This section discusses section 6.1 and 6.2 data in relation to the institutional theory (section 3.4, p. 85) and the theory on psychological motivation (section 3.2, p. 63). In line with the theory on psychological motivation (section 3.2.1, p. 63) the women entrepreneurs highlighted situational or contextual motivating factors, usually calling these “circumstances,” “initial motives” or “push and pull factors.” Personal factors they identified as “motivation” or “intrinsic motives.”

The section is structured as follows: the first sub-section (6.3.1) discusses push and pull factors as ratios of initial or additional motives, further considered as internal vs. external factor. Prevalence of push or pull factors outlined in section 6.1.3 (pp. 200 and 203) is considered for each of the four groups.

The second sub-section (6.3.2) discusses articulated situational push and pull factors as influences of formal or informal institutions (section 3.4.1, p. 85); institutional theory posits such influence on entrepreneurial behaviour and motivation (section 3.4.3, p. 89). Family policy and values, gender equality and labour market legislation, social stereotypes and gender discrimination, formal and informal networks, education system, market and trends in consumer demand are all expressions of institutional influence.

The third sub-section (6.3.2) discusses women’s stated intrinsic motives mentioned in relation to several classifications proposed in psychological motivation literature (section 3.2.2).

6.3.1. Push and pull situational factors

Subject interviews with the women illustrated, however, that certain situational factors were very much perceived subjectively by them as being either push or pull factors. The way in which and the extent to which events were push or pull factors depended on the individual (section 6.1.3, pp. 201 and 205).

Babaeva’s (1998) view that women entrepreneurs in Eastern Europe are motivated mainly by push factors was not confirmed: here, pull factors prevailed (17 versus 13; see Table 6.5, p. 209). Neither were Russian women overwhelmingly opportunistic entrepreneurs as stated by Babaeva and Chirikova (1996, section 2.2.2, p. 35): 13 respondents described intentional entrepreneurship, while 17 believed themselves opportunistic (Table 6.5).

By distinguishing between opportunistic (circumstances-driven) and intentional (intrinsically shaped) entrepreneurship, push and pull factors can be further classified into external or internal. The classification of factors influencing women to start-up a business, whether external or internal, push or pull, is depicted using a four quadrant diagram (see Diagram 6.1 below).

Diagram 6.1. External and internal push and pull factors

	External	N*	N**	Internal	N*	N**
Push	• Need for money	2	11	• Feeling responsible for subordinates and clients	2	3
	• Divorce	1	7			
	• Need to support children	4	9	• Dissatisfaction with job	2	6
	• Unemployment	2	10			
	• Problems with the line manager	1	4			
Total		10	41		4	9
Pull	• Professional development and promotion	3	7	• Interest in the field of business/ own business idea	8	15
	• Friend’s advice	2	8			
	• Favourable offer	3	7			
Total		8	22		8	15

Source: Tables 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5.

N* - number of women mentioned this factor as the initial factor; N** - number of women mentioned this factor as the initial or an additional factor.

Diagram 6.1 shows that 16 of the respondents were initially motivated by pull factors, such as professional development and promotion; friends' advice or favourable offers; interest in the field of business or in pursuing their own business idea. Fourteen respondents were initially pushed to start-up by factors such as a need for money; a need to support children; unemployment; responsibility for subordinates or clients; dissatisfaction with the prior job or problems with their line manager. The prevalence of external factors over internal is clear (18 versus 12), reflecting a slight predominance of circumstance-driven entrepreneurship over intention-driven entrepreneurship for the sample's women.

It should be noticed, however, that this distribution reflects only the initial driving forces that led women to enter business. In most cases, more than one factor resulted in business start-up – although the questions also established both the earliest motive and the deciding factor in each case. Thus, while professional and career growth stimuli inspired numerous women entrepreneurs, it was the initial motive only for three. Others cited pull/push factors such as: friends' advice (Marina), unemployment (Larisa), need for money (Nataliya), need to support children (Lubov) or responsibility to clients (Ludmila) as having decided them.

The leading factor is interest in the field of enterprise (e.g. dolls, wine, furs, commerce, printing, medical research). It was the decisive factor for eight respondents and additional factor for seven respondents. Frequent mention of push/pull factors as initial or additional motives (N**) shows push factors prevailing over pull factors as additional influences: respondents mentioned push factors 50 times, pull factors 37 times. The leading push factor was the need to provide for children, named by four respondents. Income needs and unemployment were also frequently mentioned as additional push factors (by 11 and 10 women respectively).

Most push factors are interrelated: job dissatisfaction sometimes led to unemployment; unemployment or divorce usually intensified financial need or children's needs. Similarly with pull factors: career growth was sometimes encouraged by advice from friends and intensified by their interest; favourable offers arose from professional development. Sometimes push and pull factors combined, as when interest in the field interfaced with responsibility for patients (Nadezhda).

Analysis of the ratio between push and pull factors from a start-up timing perspective shows that women in the “Quick response” group, launching businesses soon after transition, were all driven by push factors (Table 6.2, p. 195). Surprisingly, however, even though they were all pushed into entrepreneurship, suggesting response to circumstance, three out of the five in this group had the intention to become entrepreneurs. In the “Early birds” group, both women who became entrepreneurs before 1991 were attracted by a favourable offer. Of these, Diana had the intention to become an entrepreneur; Tatyana considered herself more opportunistic.

For women becoming business owner-managers after a career in the same field, pull factors seemed to slightly outweigh push factors (five versus three, see Table 6.3, p. 196). Although career development guided them into entrepreneurship, not all women in this group were driven to it by career promotion alone. Larisa and Nataliya were forced to change careers, then started businesses in fields different from their previous well-loved profession. These choices were forced on them by unemployment and necessity. Ludmila decided to start-up a business in response to the necessity to assume responsibility for her clients – otherwise she would have remained happily employed. Friends and colleagues encouraged Marina and Daria to open companies.

Interestingly, only one woman in this group, Polina (one of the youngest in the sample) had the intention to become an entrepreneur. Others were led to entrepreneurship by the circumstances of their careers. Founding a company was a “logical step” (Elena) in career advancement.

In the “Late entrants” group, for start-ups after 1998, there is an evident prevalence of pull factors (10 versus 5, see Table 6.4, p. 197). As for opportunism, the group splits into two almost equal parts: eight women consider themselves intentional and seven opportunistic entrepreneurs.

6.3.2. Institutional theory

Push and pull factors can be analyzed within institutional theory frameworks (section 3.4, p. 85), either as external forces acting on women entrepreneurs -- or as society's "rules of the game" (North, 1997), elements of institutional context. Because this institutional context survived dramatic upheavals during the transition process (section 2.2.3, p. 37), it had an even more profound effect on women's lives. Respondents indicated that during rapid contextual change, individuals experience great pressure to react to this change, forcing them to adapt to the new realities even as these are just emerging. Thus, stable contexts exert less influence on individuals' behaviour, than contexts in flux (Peng, 2003; Aidis et al, 2005).

Informal institutions usually change more slowly than formal ones, causing a gap or lag between them (Welter et al, 2005). While formal institutional change can offer incentives for business creation, informal institutional change may instead act as barrier (Estrin et al, 2005). Almost any formal institution corresponds to some informal institution; these often have opposite effects on women entrepreneurs' behaviour and motivation (Peng, 2001).

The respondents' stated push or pull factors exhibit institutional formal and/or informal roots. Each factor can be examined at three levels: personal (affecting only the woman herself), situational (extending into a group around the woman) and institutional (as an established formal or informal norm of social interaction). Thus, institutional factors create the context for situational and personal factors. Table 6.8 presents this deconstruction of push and pull factors.

Table 6.8. Personal, situational and institutional factors influencing women’s decision to enter business

Personal factor	Situational factor	Institutional factor	
		Formal	Informal
Need for money	Need to support children	Family policy and child care infrastructure	Family values
Dissatisfaction with job	Discrimination at work / glass-ceiling	Gender equality legislation	Gender stereotypes
Dissatisfaction with job	Problems with the line manager / ineffective management	Labour legislation; Absence of trade unions	High power distance dimension of culture
Unemployment	Reduction of the staff / closing of the enterprise	Labour market	Informal gender discrimination; Informal networks
Responsibility for clients and employees	Situation, requiring a woman to take a lead	Role and position of a manager/ superior	Collectivistic culture values
Friend’s advice	Favourable offer	Formal networks	Informal networks
Professional development	Career promotion	Education system	Informal networks
Interest	Work, friends, chance	Market; consumer trends	Fashion and advertising

Sources: Table 3.3, sections 2.2.3, 3.4.3 and 6.1.3.

The influence of each institutional factor on women’s motivation is discussed below.

Family policy and family values

Before 1917, marriage and family responsibilities were perceived as the main social purpose of a woman in Russia, with most women largely deprived of political and economic independence in society (section 2.1.1, p. 22). However, the role of women in Russian society during the Soviet period changed. Gender policies of the Communist Party caused Soviet institutions to place a high emphasis on women’s participation in labour markets, offering adequate child care infrastructure and ready access to abortions (section 2.1.2, p. 24). Such family policy discouraged child-bearing, resulting in the world’s highest per capita abortion rates, while encouraging women to be active outside the home, providing them with more opportunities to acquire human and social capital through

employment. After the collapse of the Soviet Union (section 2.1.3, p. 27), however, the advent of capitalism ended state-funded childcare and maternity support, while also seeking to reduce the number of abortions due to their adverse effect on demographic projections. With a shrinking life expectancy for some years after the collapse, Russians literally confronted data suggesting prolonged, potentially irreversible social and economic decay unless the birth rate, and also family income trends, could be raised. The intersection of all these grim facts meant that new financial resources had to be found, not to mention time. Many of the respondents (11) specified that their business brought new resources into their lives.

The greater need of women to balance work and family commitments may make entrepreneurship more attractive opportunity for women than employment. Though entrepreneurship often requires more time it can also offer the possibility for greater flexibility in structuring the work-day (Bird, 1989; Goffee and Scase, 1985). However, hands-on childcare remained mainly women's obligation. They are expected to devote considerable time and attention young offspring (section 2.2.4, p. 42). The nearly exclusive role of women in caring for their young, especially infants, arises partly from patriarchal tradition and partly from economical constraints. The Soviet era, by reducing the size of most families, also created a tendency to have the precious one or two children over-tended by mother or grandmother: something less likely when there are multiple children and busy employed parents. Babysitters are not common in Russian practice; nannies have been, but require funds and space to employ. Thus, mothers shoulder the duties of childcare, sometimes with grandmothers or aunts pitching in. Furthermore, for many families, humble Soviet lifestyles limited the availability of common labour-saving appliances; the difficult climate tended to further restrict mobility for young mothers. Until just recently, most Russians grew comfortable with the assumption that a woman's lot is hard, limited and does not include freedom to pursue careers or entrepreneurial intentions. On the other hand, since launching a business relaxes financial constraints by raising income, entrepreneurship liberates women from childcare responsibilities patriarchal traditions imposed and social engineering reinforced.

Family, as an institution which imposes an additional burden on the shoulders of women, was criticized by Marxist feminists, who had the issue of gendered division of labour in the

workplace and in the home as the central question for analysis (Greer and Green, 2003). They regarded women's domestic labour as a productive, though unpaid, work, and believed that if economic injustice can be eliminated, other kinds of social differences, such as those of gender, also will be ended (Genew, 1991). Marxist feminists saw an interrelation between patriarchy and capitalism. Hartmann (1976, p.138 in Greer and Green, 2003) defined patriarchy as "a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men, and solidarity among them, which enable them to control women". Capitalism is a system built on a structure of dominance and subordination that maintains privileges for some groups over others. Capitalist economics are based on the work-family role system that reinforces the traditional division of labour in both the workplace and the home. Therefore, the rules of patriarchy and capitalism reinforce one another and lead to a weaker women's labour position, which motivate some women to seek better opportunities in entrepreneurship (Greer and Green, 2003). Unfortunately, the history of fully Marxist states reflects largely insignificant differences in the social and economic opportunities of women when compared to capitalist states. We do not observe significantly different lifestyles or increased meaningful opportunities or political influence for women in states that have rejected capitalism outright. All the most prominent women leaders of the past half-century have come from non-Marxist countries: Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, Queen Elizabeth II and the other reigning women of Europe, Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto. It thus appears that the theory of Marxist empowerment of women remains largely unproven even after considerable efforts to create fully developed Marxist communities.

Therefore, while childcare infrastructure acts as a pull factor, family values themselves, by keeping children central to women's lives, required the women to balance work and family commitments, and pushed them towards entrepreneurship.

Gender equality legislation and gender stereotypes

The Soviet era proclaimed formal statutory equality of men and women (section 2.1.2, p. 24). However, this appearance of gender equality originated in economic policy rather than gender equality per se (Aidis et al, 2005). This government-mandated artificial equality meant essentially to double the labour force was held in check by traditional social attitudes limiting women's roles. Since the end of Communism, traditionalism has even

strengthened (section 2.1.3, p. 27), reinforcing stereotypes, hidden discrimination and tendencies to subordinate women to men. Inevitably, workplace indignities increased job dissatisfaction and drove women towards self-employment. Thus, gender equality policy pulls women into entrepreneurship; gender stereotyping pushes them.

Labour legislation, labour market and gender discrimination

The Soviet state's demise transferred employment decisions into the private sector. Worker protection schemes were weakened and trade unions abolished. Workplace deficiencies tended to hurt women more for all the reasons cited above. Personal exertion via advice networks, family connections and structures of social privilege, where people from one social group (friends, colleagues, former colleagues) helped to find good jobs to the members of their group (this custom is called *blat* in Russian) replaced formal institutions of guaranteed job placement.

Labour laws and labour markets create contexts for both push and pull factors for entrepreneurship. Poor employment conditions or gender discrimination (section 2.1.4, p. 28) pushed women, while opportunities for career advancement pull them into business ventures.

Collectivistic and hierarchical (high power distant) culture

Historically, Russian society has been collectivistic and hierarchical (Blackwell, 1993). The Soviet era reinforced these cultural predilections (Harris, 1995; Malle, 1996). Hofstede (2001) describes collectivistic society as one that encourages strong affinities between individuals (section 3.4.2, p. 87). The Russian term for collectivism is *sobornost*. It implies personal responsibility for consensus and shared values, for the welfare of the unity one belongs to, comprising colleagues, subordinates, clients, patients. This heightened sense of responsibility guides women to consider the interests of their group alongside their own.

Even if entrepreneurship is sometimes individualistic, business operations are inherently

collectivistic: they require balancing the interests of many to thrive. Assuming the leadership role in a business venture is consistent with exercising responsibility for the affinity group. As Chapter 7 will discuss, women entrepreneurs consider the interests of all the people their business will impact (Viktoriya); mutual responsibility and solidarity is a criterion of success (Tatyana).

For Hofstede (2001), high power distant culture features in societies where power is distributed unequally and movements between social strata restricted (section 3.4.2, p. 87). Career promotion then depends on the favour of superiors (Shane, 1992). In hierarchical societies, management is often inefficient; managers lack operational independence while superiors debate policy; skills are underutilised as time is lost (Shane, 1992). Such considerations also lead women into entrepreneurship to escape workplace frustration.

Formal and informal networks

In the absence or weakness of formal institutions regulating business, the importance of informal institutions grows (section 3.4.3, p. 89). Respondents indicated informal personal connections often played a key role in charting their course: friends gave vital encouragement (section 6.1.3, p. 201); colleagues made favourable offers (p. 202); former clients brought in new business (p. 200); friends or relatives helped with money or labour (section 5.2.4, p. 163).

Rejection by formal funding institutions forced women entrepreneurs to turn to informal personal networks for financing; insufficient formal business consulting infrastructure brought recourse to informal sources of advice. Respondents identified co-operation with other entrepreneurs and casual information exchange as the preferred way of problem solving.

The role of informal networks in the establishment of businesses indicates the importance of social capital for entrepreneurs (section 3.5.1, p. 92). Respondents acquired social capital during their education and employment (section 5.1.2 and 5.1.3). Section 7.3.2 (p.298) will discuss the effect of social capital on their entrepreneurial success.

Education

Education's impact on business success can be regarded from two perspectives: within the institutional theory framework (section 3.4) or within social and human capital theory (section 3.5). Human capital theory as a method of understanding the effect of their education on women entrepreneurs' performance was discussed in section 5.3.1 (p. 176). Here, education is considered as an institution, rather than a source of human capital.

The Soviet period placed great emphasis on higher education for both men and women, especially in technical and scientific professions (section 2.1.2, p. 24 and 5.1.2, p. 147). After the transition, the belief that every respectable person needs a post-secondary degree remained as an important component of social status (Aidis et al, 2005). Thus, a formal institution becomes an informal one. As a result, in transitional economies high levels of education are a commonly reported characteristic of entrepreneurs in general, and of women entrepreneurs in particular (section 2.2.2, p. 33). However, unequal access to some prestigious (diplomacy, science, IT) faculties, which was blamed by liberal feminists (Greer and Green, 2003; p. 149) for women's disadvantaged position in society, could be seen as a barrier for the women's participation in entrepreneurship.

Higher education has an ambiguous effect on entrepreneurs' motivations. In one obvious effect, extensive explicit and tacit knowledge (section 5.3.1, p. 177) contributes to business success and fuels expertise (section 6.1.3, p. 200). On the other hand, advanced degrees can impede entrepreneurship, inhibiting adaptive change once so much effort has been invested into an unsustainable profession, or because highly educated people sometimes regard entrepreneurship as beneath them. After the collapse of the Soviet system, when science and engineering sectors contracted, limited alternatives for advanced degree holders exerted a push effect (Aidis et al, 2005). Education's pull effect consists of the social capital in the form of the personal ties acquired while studying. These respondents, however, emphasised workplace contacts rather than education as the main source of their social capital (sections 5.1.3 and 6.1.3).

Market, fashion and consumer trends

Russia's transition to a free-market economy has reformed the regulatory landscape and allowed the traditional interplay of supply and demand to depend on actual consumption rather than state planning. Consequently, consumer markets have grown into a new, important institution influencing producers' decisions (Sobolevskaya, 2003).

Initially, a broad lack of goods generated equally broad demand (Galina). Chronic Soviet shortages left people ready to buy almost anything, especially imports. Household appliances, electronics, computers, clothes, cosmetics, cruises, real estate, gadgets, games and novelties – everything, literally, found a market in Russia.

As soon as the first thirst for consumables had been slaked, shoppers became choosier: “Now you have to fight for every client” (Galina). Pursuit of *glamour*, defined as luxurious excess and high-profile style, has become the latest trend for the wealthy, fuelling their conspicuous consumption. Here, fashion stylists shape consumer choices: “Designers are the dictators of fashion” (Yuliya). Less affluent consumers respond to advertising instead (Viktoriya). Another spending trend sustains the health and fitness industry.

Fashion, advertising, health and fitness principles can each be considered as informal institutions determining rules for spending. Certain respondents gravitated towards trends they believed could easily drive cash flow: Yuliya and Nastya -- in fashion, Klavdiya and Veronika -- in art, Viktoriya -- in glossy print products, Galina -- in health, tea and vegetarianism, Svetlana -- in wine, Alla -- in confections. Each matched personal interest to an identifiable informal institution expressed as a market trend.

As an initial pull factor for business launch, interest was different from other push/pull factors. It is the sole motivational factor remaining constant for a woman throughout the life of her enterprise; in this case, initial motive coincides with psychological motivation.

6.3.3. Psychological motives as personal factors

Situational factors alone cannot motivate women to launch a venture: many Russian women experienced the situations specified above, within a shared institutional and cultural context, yet few became entrepreneurs. Psychologists (section 3.2.1, p. 63) explain differences in behaviour given similar situations in terms of a personal factor – the motive, intrinsic to each individual.

The respondents named fourteen intrinsic motives inspiring them to entrepreneurship:

- Change
- Rehabilitation from tragedy
- Altruism or concern for others
- Recognition, acclaim, prominence
- Freedom, independence, unwillingness to submit or surrender
- Ownership
- Money
- Leadership
- Achievement
- Self-actualization
- Creative power
- The great dream
- An interesting job
- An idea

The most frequently cited motives were concern for others (10 women), independence (8), self-actualisation (8), interesting job (8) and achievement (7) (see Table 6.7, p. 227).

Most motives derive from one or more personal traits, discussed in section 5.2. Table 6.9 illustrates the connection between intrinsic motives and personal traits.

Table 6.9. Connections between personal traits and intrinsic motives

Intrinsic Motive	Personal Trait
Change	Restlessness
Rehabilitation from tragedy	Resilience; fatalism
Concern for others	Interpersonal skills
Recognition	Need for achievement
Independence	Locus of control
Ownership	Ambitions
Money	Ambitions
Leadership	Leadership skills
Achievement	Need for achievement; diligence and perseverance
Self-actualization	Self-assurance; ambitions
Creative power	Diligence and perseverance
Great dream	Ambitions; mysticism
Interesting job	Restlessness
Idea	Honesty; ambitions

Source: Sections 5.2 and 6.2.

Valentina suggested motives be classified as selfish or unselfish. Because every human has associates, social considerations can shift an individual's motivation considerably. Entrepreneurs must balance motives against responsibilities. The extent of the resulting adjustment depends on one's sense of duty (Heckhausen, 2003) and whether it favours action or inaction. Elena called this conflict between personally desirable results and socially required duties "the struggle between *want* and *must*." Often the women obeyed neither their strongest nor their most desirable motive, but the one in best agreement with their moral principles.

Respondents considered *selfish* motives leading to desirable outcomes: achievement, recognition, self-actualisation, change, money and independence. Duty-based motives were called *unselfish*. Sometimes, however, personal desires do converge with perceived duty. The idea, leadership and creation motives often combine personal satisfaction with altruistic concerns. A great dream cannot be classified as either purely selfish or altruistic: it depends on the goal. Often, great dreams veer towards altruism, envisioning others as beneficiaries.

Diana suggested classifying motivation according to “scarcity or absence.” She interprets some motives as a response to something missing: feeling unnoticed leads to striving for publicity; wishing for freedom to striving for independence. Following this logic the desire for change can be explained by perceptions of stagnation; asset insecurity motivates the impulse to ownership; poverty impels to accumulate money; excessive external control inspires the desire to lead; boredom at work pushes to seek an interesting occupation.

Diana also named another type of motivation she called “abundance or presence.” The logic here is: “I have enough to share.” The person never deprived of attention is willing to give it to others; the one with talents wants to apply them; the one with money can help those in need; the one with freedom wants to empower others. According to this logic, selflessness, creativity, achievement, self-actualisation and the idea motive should be classified as motives of excess.

Table 6.10 (p. 243) shows the distribution of respondents’ motives as altruistic vs. egoistic, as motives of scarcity or abundance. It shows each motive’s frequency (score), i.e. the number of women mentioning it; the average ranking, meaning its average importance for the respondents (4 being the highest and 1 the lowest); and the total ranking, reflecting its overall importance within this respondent sample, and calculated as the average ranking multiplied by the frequency. Table 6.10 illustrates that motives of concern for others, independence, creation, an interesting job and self-actualization occur most. The prevailing motives (those ranked as most important by the maximum number of respondents) are helping others, an interesting job, independence, and achievement; followed by creation, an idea, and self-actualisation. Yet the highest average rank, weighing the importance of a particular motive for those respondents who mentioned it, belongs to those motives named by a small number of respondents: change, rehabilitation, the great dream and idea.

Table 6.10. Frequency and ranking of the women’s motives

	Egoistic motives				Altruistic motives			
		Score	Aver. rank	Total rank		Score	Aver. rank	Total rank
Motives of scarcity	Change	3	4	12	Leadership	4	2.5	10
	Rehabilitation	4	3.8	15				
	Recognition	6	2.8	17				
	Independence	8	3	24				
	Ownership	5	3	15				
	Money	4	3.3	13				
	Interesting job	8	3.1	25				
Motives of abundance	Achievement	7	3	21	Concern for others	10	3	30
	Self-actualisation	8	2.4	19	Idea	2	4	8
	Creative power	7	2.7	20	Great dream	5	3.6	18

Source: Section 6.2; Table 6.5

The respondents named several motives discussed in psychology literature by Lersch (1951), Murray (1938) and Maslow (1954), as well as in entrepreneurship literature by various researchers (section 3.2.2). The motives of achievement, independence, helping others (affiliation) and leadership mentioned by these women were discovered by Murray’s (1938) research and also discussed in entrepreneurship literature (section 3.2.2, p. 69).

The women’s characterization of recognition and achievement resonates with Maslow’s esteem and self-esteem needs; also, and descriptions of self-actualisation given by the women and by Maslow (1954) are quite similar (section 3.2.2, p. 72). The respondents’ motive of creation resonates with what Maslow (1954) called aesthetic needs. Maslow believed humans require beautiful imagery, something new and aesthetically pleasing, to achieve self-actualization. Humans need to refresh themselves in the presence and beauty of nature while carefully absorbing and observing their surroundings to extract the beauty

that the world has to offer. The motive of desiring an interesting job resonates with Maslow’s (1954) definition of cognitive needs: the expression of the natural human need to learn, increase personal intelligence, chase knowledge, explore, discover and create to achieve better understanding of the surrounding world.

The respondents’ distinguishing of egoistic and altruistic needs and “the struggle between *want* and *must*” (Elena) corresponds to the division into individual and non-individual motives proposed by Lersch (section 3.2.2, p. 67). Lersch distinguished three groups of motives: “motives of vital being,” close to Maslow’s physiological and safety needs; “drives of individual I” correlating to egoistic motives; and “motives of non-individual being” embracing altruistic motives. A comparison of Lersch’s (1951) classification of motives with the motives named by the respondents appears in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11. Comparison of classification of motives defined by Lersch with motives cited by the respondents

Groups of Motives	Lersch	Respondents	Rating	Frequency
	Empathy	Concern for others	30	10
3. Motives of non-individual being (altruistic motives)	Creation	Creation power	20	7
	Interests (cognitive needs)	Interesting job	25	8
	Love	Great dream	18	5
	Sense of duty	Concern for others		
	Artistic and aesthetic needs	Self-actualisation	19	8
	Religious needs	Idea	8	2
	summary rating/frequency			121
2. Motives of individual I (egoistic Motives)	Self-preservation	Rehabilitation	15	4
	Egoism	Independence	24	8
	Power	Leadership	10	4
	Ambitions	Achievement	21	7
	Solemnity	Money	13	4
	Recognition	Recognition	17	6
	self-respect			
summary rating/frequency			100	33
1. Motives of vital being	Activity			
	Pleasure			
	Libido			
	New impressions	Change	12	3
summary rating/frequency			12	3

Sources: adapted from Lersch (1951) and section 6.2 of author’s data analysis

Table 6.11 shows that non-individual or altruistic (as the respondents call them) motives dominate in terms of both frequency and rating amongst women entrepreneurs.

Diana’s scarcity vs. abundance classification approach evokes Maslow’s (1954) hierarchy of needs (section 3.2.2, p. 72), which distinguished deficiency needs and growth needs. A comparison of the respondents’ stated motives with Maslow’s hierarchy of needs appears in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12. A comparison of respondents’ motives with Maslow’s hierarchy of needs

Motives named by the respondents	Needs of Maslow’s hierarchy	Deficiency/Growth needs
Money Ownership Rehabilitation	Physiological and safety	Deficiency needs
Concern for others	Love and affiliation	
Achievement Independence Challenge	Self-Esteem	
Recognition Leadership	Esteem from others	
Interesting job Change	Cognition	
Creative power Leadership Achievement Self-actualization	Self-actualization	Growth needs
Great dream Idea		

Sources: Maslow (1954); Section 6.2

Table 6.12 confirms prevalence of esteem and self-actualization needs in the structure of the women’s motivation. The respondents are motivated by needs of all levels. Leadership and achievement motives can be classified as a self-actualisation need, if a woman is an innate leader and achievement applies her talents; or as an esteem need, when a woman wants to lead to gain respect, her achievement thereby raising self-confidence. Two declared motives – the great dream and the idea - do not fit into Maslow’s hierarchy and were claimed to be “higher than Maslow’s pyramid” (Elizaveta).

Women entrepreneurs' love needs reside in the "helping others" motive. The respondents showed greater need to give rather than receive love (section 6.2.3, p. 216). Entrepreneurship provides women opportunities to show love for offspring, family, and in cases such as medicine, for humanity; the revenues from entrepreneurship benefit those entrepreneurs love. Some theorists (Heckhausen, 2003) distinguished the self-actualizing need to help others from abstract needs for love and belonging, calling the latter "transcendence" and putting it on the upper level of Maslow's pyramid. Altruistic love of offspring and others expresses itself in the desire to facilitate their well-being or happiness. As most people require self-actualisation for happiness, women entrepreneurs seek to help their children develop strong personalities and find the best application for their talents (sections 6.1.3, p. 204 and 6.2.3, p. 216).

Respondents invoked esteem and recognition needs repeatedly by asserting a desire for the approval of others: to make friends, spouse and children proud; to be interesting (section 6.2.4, p. 217); to earn praise for accomplishment from peers (sections 5.2.1, p. 160); to impress their husbands or members of their family (section 6.2.9, p. 221); as in childhood they sought it from parents or teachers (sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2). Thus, for women entrepreneurs, motives involving recognition, achievement and helping others were highly interrelated, while increasing self-esteem and confidence earned them greater respect.

The women's interpretation of success as constant growth, striving for improvement and even perfection (section 7.1, p. 253) together with their dedication to the cultivation of their own talents and abilities (section 6.2.10, p. 222) confirms the priority of self-actualisation needs, even if these are not credited, with Maslow (section 3.2.2, p. 73), as the strongest motivating force of all. However, as Table 6.7 (p. 227) shows, although eight women were motivated by self-actualisation need, it never ranked first -- usually second. This suggests other needs, such as affiliation needs (the "concern for others" motive) or esteem needs (expressed in achievement and recognition motives), carried greater weight with the women entrepreneurs in this sample.

6.4. Conclusions

This chapter analyzed themes and issues found in nodes grouped under “Start-up,” “Motives” and “Personality,” and supported by some nodes grouped under “Attitudes” and “Biographical data” (section 6.1 and 6.2). It discussed these with regard to institutional theory and psychological theory of motivation.

Data analysis (section 6.1) showed the majority of women launching businesses after 1995. Just more than half (17) considered themselves opportunistic entrepreneurs; the rest while stated they pursued business ventures intentionally. The respondents distinguished push and pull factors influencing decisions to open a business. Among push factors they named need for money, divorce, need to support children, unemployment, responsibility to clients or subordinates, and dissatisfaction with previous jobs. Among pull factors they named professional and career growth, friends’ advice, favourable offers and interest in a business field. Amongst women who came into business soon after transition (before 1995), push factors prevailed (Table 6.2, p. 195); while for those who launched after 1995 pull factors prevailed (Tables 6.3, p. 196 and Table 6.4, p. 197).

The data finds resonance with the institutional theory (North, 1990; Aidis et al, 2005), that institutional context influences entrepreneurial behaviour and motivations. The fact that those women who joined later were motivated more by pull rather than push factors shows how change in institutional context affected their motivation. Furthermore, each push and pull factor can be associated with a certain formal or informal institution, as shown in Table 6.8 (p. 233). This allows interlinking personal, situational and institutional factors of motivation.

With regard to the psychological theory of motivation (Heckhausen, 2003), the findings echoed the principle that both situational factors (circumstances favourable or unfavourable to an undertaking), and personal factors, such as psychological needs or motives, govern motivations.

Data analysis (section 6.2) allowed marking out fifteen individual motives driving the respondents into entrepreneurship. Certain respondents suggested these motives can be classified as selfish or altruistic, or as motives of scarcity and abundance (Table 6.10,

p.243). Distinction between egoistic and altruistic motives resonates with the classification proposed by Lersch (1951). Analysis showed that non-individual or altruistic motives were most frequently mentioned and held to be the most important by the respondents. Concern for others, independence, achievement, self-actualisation and having an interesting job were mentioned most. These were followed by recognition, ownership and the great dream.

Discerning between motives of scarcity and motives of abundance resonates with Maslow's theory of needs (1954), his delineation of deficiency needs and growth needs. Respondents exhibited motivation at all need levels; esteem needs, comprising self-esteem and recognition, with self-actualization needs, prevail in the structure of the women's motivation. The findings obtained during interviews highlighted the great importance of love needs for women entrepreneurs, as expressed in their desire to help their family and others they cherish.

The findings also suggested the importance of personal motivation and institutional contexts for successful entrepreneurial performance. These will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7. SUCCESS

Introduction

This chapter focuses on Success and discusses the following themes and issues:

3. Perception of success by the women entrepreneurs; and
4. Factors of success.

This theme was outlined as the third theme, which emerged from the interview (p. 136) and concerns the factors and strategies of success, which can be conscious as well as subconscious. This theme can be divided into human resource management and motivation, and self-management and self-motivation. This self-management includes the skills, qualities and patterns of behaviour, women thought to be vital for their success. Some of these qualities and skills were innate, others women had to develop. This theme was developed by talking about the key elements success, the meaning of success for them, the qualities of a successful entrepreneur and manager, their leadership style, their relationships with staff and the difficulties they had to overcome in business. The insights to this theme were also gained by asking women what they learned during their entrepreneurial experience and how business changed their life and their personality.

Included in the section on Perception of Success (7.1) is a discussion of how the women interpreted and evaluated their entrepreneurial performance. It identifies different aspects of success, such as inner satisfaction and external recognition, as well as different measures of success. These measures of success are both tangible and intangible, and focused on either the result or the process. Included in the section on Factors of Success (7.2.1) are a number of issues relating to human resources management, such as selection, control and motivation of staff. Section 7.2.2 discusses the intrinsic factors of success, which depend on the women entrepreneurs themselves and consists of their specific skills, qualities and attitudes.

The chapter looks at the nodes grouped under the tree nodes “Success”, “Management”, “Entrepreneur” and “Business”.

The nodes grouped under the tree node “Success” include:

- Achievement
- Factors of success
- Measures of success
- Perception of success
- Love
- Successful person

The nodes grouped under the tree node “Management” include:

- Control
- Goal-setting
- Human resources
- Management
- Motivation
- Perception of being a manager
- Qualities of director
- Recognition
- Relationships with staff
- Selection
- Leadership style
- Teaching

The nodes grouped under the tree node “Entrepreneur” include:

- Entrepreneur’s qualities
- Entrepreneur versus manager
- Entrepreneurship

The nodes grouped under the tree node “Business” include:

- Business and family
- Business development
- Business experience
- Clients

- Competitive advantages
- Description of company
- Description of business sphere
- Goals
- Plans
- Principles
- Risks

The structure of the sub-headings does not correspond to the structure of the nodes: some of the sub-sections are based on the analysis of more than one node and some nodes are used in more than one sub-section. The particular way the author deals with the nodes is outlined in the Tables at the beginning of each section.

The third section (7.3) analyzes the data presented in the first two sections and relates these findings to the literature. In the light of the issues and themes that emerge from the data analysis the discussion section focuses on social capital theory, institutional theory and expectancy theory model.

The final section (7.4) draws some conclusions, giving the summary of key findings and the theoretical implications that emerge from the data analysis on perception of success and factors of success.

7.1. Perception of success

This section reflects on how the women entrepreneurs perceive and evaluate their entrepreneurial success. In-keeping with the data analysis approach outlined in the methodology (section 4.3.2, p. 123) this section is based on the analysis of the following nodes, grouped under the tree-node “Success”:

- Achievement
- Measures of success
- Perception of success

It also uses the node “Business and family” from the tree-node “Business”.

The women entrepreneurs perceived success differently. For some of them success is achieving inner satisfaction, for others it is receiving the approval of others. Often these two sides come together, as in the case of Nadezhda, who invented a method for diagnosing sclerosis. As it was mentioned in section 6.2.9 (p. 222) she was proud of making a contribution to new knowledge and being known and respected by the scientific elite. Nadezhda considered her achievement successful because on the one hand it was valuable in itself and because on the other hand it had brought her the respect of her colleagues.

Clearly, perceptions of success are influenced by both achievement (section 6.2.9, p. 221) and recognition (section 6.2.4, p. 217) motivations. Viktoriya also recognized two sides of success, giving preference to the internal side: “For me the inner evaluation is more important ... success is when I enjoy the process and when I am sure that I made everything possible to achieve the result. It is inner comfort and joy from the result.” Since Viktoriya’s definition of results required the creation of something new, her perception of success can therefore be linked to the motive of creation (section 6.2.11, p. 223). Inner satisfaction was described by Alla as “feeling that you are doing the right thing.”

Valentina explained that she did not care about fame and public success, because it did not necessarily bring happiness and satisfaction: “I know people who have public success and they are unhappy.” Oksana thought that public success can be even dangerous, because a

person can become dependent on this fame. This may have two bad consequences. First, “it will hurt to be knocked down from one’s pedestal, when you’ve been put on it.” Fame is unlikely to last forever, and it is always painful to lose it. And secondly, fame makes it difficult for people to stay true to themselves, because you would like to please those who admire you, “you become a slave to their admiration.”

Viktoriya noticed another difference in the perception of success that concerns whether an entrepreneur is focused on the process or on the result. Diana like Viktoriya believed that enjoyment of the process is as important as the result: “... if you don’t enjoy the process that leads you to success, then it is not a real success.” Alla suggested that success is a constant process of development, rather than a one off result: “Objective measures of success include the opportunity to develop, to prosper and the fact that clients come to you.” The perception of success as development of their talents resonates with the women’s self-actualisation motivation (section 6.2.10, p. 222). Such a perception of success is perfectly reasonable, because once one result is achieved you need to set a new goal. Otherwise the achieved result will lead to stagnation: “You should never stop trying to achieve” (Galina).

Marina distinguished success at work, such as “a successfully finished project, won legal proceedings, client satisfaction” and success in life, which means that “... people like to communicate with me, and that people whom I know would not feel ashamed of me.” This shows that Marina was results oriented in work and externally orientated in life. Natalya was results oriented, but underlined the importance of constant improvement: “Every stage and every month has its own objectives. If the collective worked well and we achieved improved results from one quarter to the next, then this to me is success. So, success can be defined as being a constant improvement, attainment of better results.”

The respondents evaluated the results both in tangible measures, such as profit, sales, liquidity, capitalisation and other financial indices; and intangible aspects of business such as quality, publicity, reputation, client’s satisfaction and employee’s happiness. Although these measures depend partly on the nature of business, perception of success is subject to the entrepreneur’s personality. Yuliya, a clothes designer, remembered her discussion with Roberto Cavali, who recognized the difference in their perception of success: “You emphasize quality, I emphasize brand.” As popularity of the brand does not necessarily

depend on the quality, this underlines the distinction between outside (popularity of the brand) and inside (satisfaction with the quality) dimensions of success; tangible (sales) and intangible (quality) measures of result.

For some women success meant overcoming difficulties and problems. Viktoriya's story was the brightest illustration of that. The ministry of press wanted to take her company and for several years she had to live 24 hours a day with bodyguards and send her son to study to England, because the officials were threatening her. In the end she sold her company, but considered it a successful deal, because she sold it for a good price and not the low price, which had been offered to her by the officials from the ministry. She congratulated herself on this sale with the words: "My greatest achievement in life is that I am still alive."

Different aspects of perception of success by the women entrepreneurs are summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. Perception of success

Name	Inner satisfaction	Other's approval	Process	Result	Tangible	Intangible
Marina		+		+	+	
Ludmila		+		+		+
Elena	+			+	+	
Vitaliya	+			+	+	
Nadezhda	+	+		+	+	+
Irina		+		+	+	
Diana	+		+	+	+	
Oksana	+			+		+
Tatyana	+		+	+		+
Valeriya	+	+	+			+
Natalya	+			+	+	
Nastya	+		+			+
Olga	+			+	+	
Darya	+		+			+
Lidiya	+		+			+
Zhanna	+		+			+
Galina	+		+			+
Lubov	+		+			+
Viktoriya	+		+	+	+	+
Larisa	+	+		+	+	
Alla	+		+			+
Svetlana		+	+			+
Elizaveta	+			+		+
Valentina	+		+		+	
Polina		+		+		+
Veronika		+	+			+
Vera	+		+			+
Yuliya	+		+			+
Alisa	+		+			+
Klavdiya	+		+			+
Scores	24	9	18	15	11	21

As it illustrated in Table 7.1 the interview analysis highlights the emphasis placed by the majority of the respondents of success being perceived as part of inner satisfaction (24 out of 30) and intangible measures (21 out of 30), such as quality, reputation and client's satisfaction. Tangible measures were only highlighted by 11 out of 30 women interviewed and the majority were not dependent on measuring success through the approval of others.

7.2. Factors of success

This section discusses those issues which the women considered to be important for running successful businesses. The analysis of the interviews allowed to identify 14 factors of success. They are:

1. Staff and human resources policy
2. Inspirational (charismatic) leadership
3. Interpersonal skills
4. Self-representation
5. Reputation
6. Commitment to business
7. Integrity and inner harmony
8. Strong desire
9. Faith and self-confidence
10. Knowledge
11. Vision
12. Intuition
13. Luck
14. Love

Most of these factors depend on the woman herself: her personal qualities, attitudes and motivations. However, some of them (1, 2 and 5 above), involve other people and their willingness to collaborate. This willingness can be created by the woman's behaviour, and therefore also depends on her personality and ability to inspire and influence. The importance and priority of the human resources was underlined by more than a half of the respondents (20 out of 30, see Table 7.3, p. 265).

To this end the first section of this part will focus on staff and human resources policies. The second section will discuss those factors of success, which are intrinsic for the women

entrepreneurs, namely their leadership and interpersonal skills, self-representation, commitment to business and to oneself, faith and desire, knowledge, vision and intuition, luck and love.

7.2.1. Human resources

According to the respondents, people are the most important resource in any business: “There is a well-known expression: “Staff are everything. It is true” (Larisa). The issues, mentioned by the respondents in relation to human resources, include selection, control and motivation. This section is based on the analysis of the nodes, grouped under the tree-node “Success” and “Management”. Table 7.2 illustrated which sub-nodes were used in each sub-section.

Table 7.2. Nodes describing Human Resources Management

Sub-headings	Nodes	
	Success	Management
Selection	Factors of success	Human resources; selection; relationships with staff; teaching
Control		Control; goal-setting; management; perception of being a manager; qualities of director; relationships with staff
Motivation	Love	Motivation; qualities of director; recognition; relationships with staff; leadership style

Selection

Many respondents shared the opinion that when selecting staff they needed to be professionally qualified and compatible with the team. Larisa thought that employees in a team should “complement each other” meaning that they should have different positive qualities, for example, complementary is when “one is meticulous and the other person is quick.” The importance of compatibility of employees means that during selection their personal qualities must be taken into consideration: “A director prioritises certain qualification and identifies person specific qualities for each particular job role” (Nataliya).

There are special techniques aimed at testing the professionalism of candidates. Professionalism is especially vital for a doctor: “It does not mean that you cannot make a mistake, as everyone makes mistakes. But there are certain things a doctor needs to know such as basic human anatomy. It is called professional or “clinical thinking” (Vitaliya). Nadezhda agreed with this view, emphasising the importance of understanding what and why a doctor is doing something or refusing to give treatments they are not sure about, which she calls the basic principle of “don’t do harm to others.”

Selection of personnel for minor positions, even if they do not seem very important for the business, should be given careful attention and consideration: “In order to hire a good employee you have to question him/her, check his/her knowledge. And sometimes you need a professional (HR-manager) to help you. Even just for hiring a secretary” (Valeriya). Valeriya explained why she held this view. She told the story of when she had made a bad secretarial appointment which had led to the secretary losing documents as she was not competent in document circulation. Viktoriya, who had five thousand employees in her company, noted that even a cleaner should be selected carefully as “badly cleaned toilets can ruin top management’s best efforts.”

The women stated that when they choose their employees they try to select them not only for their professional skills, but also for their human qualities. Seven women stated that they place greater value on personal qualities than professional skills: “I always try and gauge the personality of my employees. Skills can be developed and taught, but a person’s mindset is hard to change. We must share common values with my employees” (Tatyana). Alla, an owner of a confectionary shop, also underlined the role of training: “the job training is especially important for shop assistants as there is no such training in Russia.”

However, to ensure that a future employee is suitable, it is necessary to check that their personality, skills and knowledge meet the requirements: “Sometimes a person is very nice but he is not a good specialist. And sometimes it is the opposite situation: they’re a good specialist but won’t fit in and can’t get on with the collective. In either situation I would not hire the individual” (Valeriya).

The women’s opinions were divided on the question of whether it is right to hire friends or just people, whom you know. 11 respondents thought that it is better to hire people whom

you know, because you can trust them. However, some respondents found it difficult to be demanding and strict with friends. Nadezhda, who had recruited both friends and others selected via a general procedure, felt that it was easier to manage the latter: “I can be the boss with them, ask them to do things; our relationships are more official. And with those who came to me from the Institute it is much more difficult for me to be their boss. Because I regard them differently and I can’t change our relationship at once.”

In the case of the small businesses friendly rather than formal relationships with employees can prove effective. Svetlana prefers to erase the boundaries between director and employees: “I do not have subordinates. I have a small team of like-minded persons made up of people who were students with me at the school and who are interested in wines as much as me. They are ready to help.” Such companies as Svetlana’s rely on the mutual interest of the people working in it. The motivation of the employees in such companies is based on their commitment to the firm rather than money: “None of my employees work just for money. They are committed to growing the company and seeing it succeed. And this is wonderful” (Valentina). Eight women stated that it is very important to find a team of like-minded persons to organize a business.

Control

The respondents underlined the importance of maintaining a balance between democracy and control: “You have to constantly keep in control of things so as not to miss anything when something goes wrong. Therefore, two main functions of the business owner are organisation and control. Soft skills such as understanding and intuition are also important. Being able to use these soft skills to decide when to interfere and when it is better not to interfere, is important. And if you interfere you still have to give a certain degree of independence to your employees, whilst at the same time trying to direct their actions behind the scenes, so that they remember that you are the boss” (Elena).

Elena mentioned the importance of management being flexible. Flexibility was seen as being essential not only with regard to human resource’s policies, but also in strategic management. This will be discussed in more detail section 7.2.2 (p. 276), when the researcher will discuss vision.

Six respondents mentioned the well-known “carrot and stick” approach, which combines reward with control. Diana called this balance “an iron fist in a velvet glove”. Control is important because it fosters professionalism and affects the quality: “I spend more than 50% of my time on control... without control we would lose quality ... this would result in us losing our clients” (Nataliya). Larisa also says that “besides checking the qualification of my employees I also check that the quality of their work reflects the level of their qualifications.”

But respondents also pointed out that control should be subtle, should avoid spoiling a good atmosphere in the company where employees feel free to express their ideas and develop themselves: “Sometimes by being strict, sometimes by taking a gentle approach I try to establish a good atmosphere in the collective. Because the organisation is a living organism and you have to feel intuitively when you should act in this or that way” (Oksana).

Vitaliya noticed that in order to maintain control the director has to keep a certain distance from employees: “Because if there is not this distance a lack of respect can creep in. And if there is a lack of respect, the organisation falls apart. So you have to be hard.” This view finds resonance with the opinion of some respondents, who found it hard to manage friends or people with whom they are familiar.

To sum up, the selection process is based on the following considerations:

- Professional qualities
- Human qualities
- Team compatibility
- Trust
- Commitment to the company

Motivation

Providing motivation for staff has been interpreted by the respondents as choosing the appropriate reward, which will increase employees' commitment to the company.

Viktoriya noted that the motivation and reward policy needs to be multilayered, individual and flexible: "First of all I am motivating staff to achieve results and the objectives that I have set. But you have to remember that there are four levels of motivation and if you lose just one, you lose people. And it is important to set priorities. There is no universal method of motivation, because every person is motivated in a different way. And in order to succeed in business it is very important to find people for whom material rewards are not the main motivation. Or to organize management in such a way that material motivation will be in third place, and their first priority will be self-fulfilment, self-actualization and self-expression. In second place should be professional prestige, respect for the collective and wanting to achieve a specified final goal."

The women believed that rewards should be motivating and tasks should match employees' capabilities. It is important not to force employees to do what they cannot: "You must get people to work within the limits of their capabilities and not just what you want them to do" (Diana). Tatyana thought that love is essential in motivating her employees by appreciating their strengths and forgiving their weaknesses and mistakes.

The women also showed empathy and concern for their employees by paying attention to their emotional state and by willing to adjust the difficulty of the tasks if the employees are experiencing emotional frustration or misfortune. Apart from building good friendly relationships this emotional sensing by the women entrepreneurs seemed to have a positive effect on the effectiveness of employees' performance and in strengthening their motivation. As Lidiya reasoned, when a person is emotionally disturbed there is no point in giving them a task, which is too difficult. By giving them a mildly difficult task, which is engaging and interesting, it can help to distract them from their personal problems. In this case, the employees will willingly immerse themselves into the work, which helps them to escape their problems. Some of the women entrepreneurs admitted to using the business as a means of escaping their own emotional disasters. That motivation was described as a rehabilitation motive (section 6.2.2, p. 214). Having experienced being able to escape their

troubles by immersing themselves in their work they use this also to help employees with troubles.

The respondents suggested that, while everyone wants and needs money, most individuals respond well to rewards which cost the organization very little to supply such as saying thank you (Polina, Elizaveta, Valentina), giving little gifts (Elena, Ludmila), acknowledging employees' achievements at the company's meetings (Nataliya), introducing prizes for good service (Tatyana, Viktoriya), giving an occasional day off with pay (Larisa) or being flexible about working hours when a close family member is ill (Nadezhda). These things proved to be effective for improving the employees' enthusiasm, commitment and gratitude.

Rewarding employees can also be done by celebrating their successes, which plays a role in encouraging their enthusiasm. Attention to people is very important: "You can never forget to say thank you for the smallest work that a person did for you; you have to make them feel that their work counts" (Polina).

Nataliya emphasized the importance of informing employees about their impact on the performance of the organisation: "Each employee must know how their work impacts on the success of the company; if the company has good results or not." Viktoriya highlighted the importance of connecting personal aspirations of employees with the organizational mission: "the manager needs to determine the employee's interests, aspirations and goals, and present the organizational vision in such a way so that employees perceive personal and organizational goals as one." Tatyana expressed a belief that the values of an organisation should be shared by all its members. This is a well-known principle of building corporate culture, which she admitted learning from her American partners.

Many of the women entrepreneurs felt that they had to set an example to their employees to increase their commitment to the company: "I do the maximum that I can do. And I think it is fair to require from my employees not to do those things that I think are unacceptable. I don't overstretch my staff. But I do want them to be honest" (Vitaliya).

By setting an example the women entrepreneurs felt that they raised their employees' self-esteem and self-confidence. Elizaveta, who has a business in e-commerce, was persuaded

and empowered by the example set by her teacher, who said “if I can do that why can’t you?” She used this example to train her team, explaining to them that everyone with a desire to do something can do it. The main thing is to have faith. The issue of faith will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter in relation to the women entrepreneurs’ self-motivation (section 7.2.2, p. 274).

Motivation of the employees also requires setting goals, which must be clear and achievable. The respondents try to develop criteria with their employees for evaluating their work so that the employees understand the expectations of the employer. These performance measures must, therefore, be expressed in concrete terms. The women entrepreneurs also pointed to the importance of giving clear instructions on how the tasks should be accomplished. Natalya mentioned the technique of goal setting, where objectives are described very precisely in the terms of their timing, quantity and quality. Larisa points to the importance of detailed written description of goals, including deadlines and measures, as well as checking on the accomplishment of these goals. This resonates with the emphasis placed on control made by the respondents earlier in this subsection.

The women stated that checking whether, and to what extent, the goals have been met also means giving clear and direct feedback that helps employees to improve their performance by giving them guidelines on how to do that. This does not mean that the boss should be brutal when offering commentary to the employee, but rather it suggests that feedback should be given in a tactful, yet straightforward manner, focusing upon performance and not the person. Ludmila shows the ability to “give orders” without spoiling friendly relationship, which is based on a “clear distinction between personal and professional criticism.”

The respondents believed that they should encourage their employees to develop their talents and to achieve better results. Elena concludes that “successful performance occurs when entrepreneurs establish motivational environments that inspire employees to achieve levels of performance that meet their expectations and perhaps exceed their initial beliefs in their own capabilities.”

Table 7.3 summarizes the issues raised by the women entrepreneurs in relation to human resources management.

Table 7.3. Human resources management

Name	Selection	Control	Motivation	One of issues	All three
Marina	+			+	
Ludmila			+	+	
Elena	+	+	+	+	+
Vitaliya	+	+	+	+	+
Nadezhda	+	+	+	+	+
Irina					
Diana		+	+	+	
Oksana		+		+	
Tatyana	+		+	+	
Valeriya	+			+	
Natalya	+	+	+	+	+
Nastya					
Olga	+	+		+	
Darya					
Lidiya			+	+	
Zhanna					
Galina					
Lubov					
Viktoriya	+		+	+	
Larisa	+	+	+	+	+
Alla	+			+	
Svetlana	+			+	
Elizaveta			+	+	
Valentina	+		+	+	
Polina			+	+	
Veronika					
Vera			+	+	
Yuliya					
Alisa					
Klavdiya					
Score	13	8	14	20	5

Table 7.3 illustrates that selection and motivation were considered to be the most important issues within the area of human resources management, as it was raised by 13 and 14 respondents accordingly. Control did not prove to be very important as it was mentioned only by 8 respondents. While the majority of the respondents (20) mentioned at least one issue concerning staff (selection, control or motivation), only five respondents talked about all the three issues. Two of them (Elena and Larisa) have auditing companies, two (Nadezhda and Vitaliya) – businesses in the sphere of medicine and one (Nataliya) – a leasing company. Selection and motivation proved to be more important than control (with 13 and 14 women mentioned selection and motivation accordingly and only 8 women mentioned control).

7.2.2. Intrinsic factors of success

This section discusses what skills, qualities and attitudes the respondents need themselves in order to persuade clients and motivate staff. This section is based on the analysis of the nodes, grouped under the tree-node “Success” and “Entrepreneur” and “Business”. Table 7.4 illustrated which sub-nodes were used in each sub-section.

Table 7.4. Sub-nodes describing intrinsic factors of success

Factor of success	Nodes		
	Success	Entrepreneur	Business
Inspirational leadership	Factors of success; successful person	Entrepreneur’s qualities; entrepreneur versus manager	
Interpersonal skills	Factors of success; successful person	Entrepreneur’s qualities; entrepreneurship	Clients
Self-representation	Factors of success; successful person		Description of business sphere
Reputation	Factors of success		Clients; competitive advantages; principles; risks
Commitment to business	Factors of success	Entrepreneurship	Clients; principles
Integrity	Factors of success		Business and family; principles
Faith	Factors of success		
Desire	Factors of success; achievement		
Vision	Factors of success; successful person	Entrepreneur’s qualities; entrepreneur versus manager; entrepreneurship	Business development; goals; plans
Knowledge	Factors of success		Business experience; description of company; description of business sphere
Intuition	Factors of success	Entrepreneur’s qualities	Risks
Luck	Factors of success	Entrepreneurship	
Love	Factors of success; successful person		Business and family; principles

Inspirational leadership

More than a half of the respondents (16) agreed that employees need a leader rather than a manager in order to be motivated. They mentioned several distinctions between being a leader and a manager. Nadezhda and Vitaliya emphasized that leaders take comprehensive control over the organisation and treat it as one organism, while managers deal with particular situations. Galina noticed that leaders aim for the future by setting goals and objectives, while managers are concerned with evaluating and analysing the past in the form of the outcomes and results. Diana and Tatyana also highlighted the strong vision of leaders who create strategy in contrast to managers who implement the tactics to fulfil a leader's vision. Alla, Valeriya and Nataliya underlined "constant striving for improvement" (Alla) and "hailing of change" (Valeriya), as a distinctive trait of leaders.

The respondents believed that it is more effective to pull employees through towards desired goals "gently" (Ludmila), rather than pushing them. The women entrepreneurs accepted that it was useless to try and change people or to force them to do something they do not want to do. Elizaveta was against persuading people to do things, in which they do not believe. She thought that the only way to ensure that people will do good work for you is to make this work motivating for, and valuable, to them. Therefore most of the women entrepreneurs refused to adopt a command style of leadership, giving preference to a democratic or charismatic style of leadership.

Most of the respondents agreed that leadership that is influential is based on charisma and informal authority, while management is based on formal controlling power. As section 5.2.10 (p. 171) discusses, women's leadership skills were both intuitive and knowledge-based. Intuition and knowledge will be discussed in subsequent sub-sections (pp. 280 and 278). Finally the respondents noted that leaders are people orientated, while managers are often task orientated. However, many respondents (14) said that they combined the roles of leader and manager.

Diana proposed that "the challenge for the leader lies in finding ways to satisfy both the interests of the employee and the company." That is why the women entrepreneurs agreed on the importance of getting to know their employees, their needs, goals, aspirations and what motivates them.

Interpersonal skills

Interpersonal skills were discussed in section 5.2.9 (p. 170) as the most frequently cited personal trait named by 26 respondents. It was mentioned as a factor of success by 19 respondents. Interpersonal skills are essential to becoming inspiring leaders, who can develop vision and enthusiasm for, and encourage commitment, to work. It is crucial for an entrepreneur to be able to communicate with people, as people are usually one of the most important resources in any business (section 7.2.1, p. 257).

As it has been discussed in section 5.2.9 (p. 170) interpersonal skills allowed the women entrepreneurs to understand people's needs and abilities. This understanding helped women entrepreneurs to give people tasks that are within their capabilities and rewards that will motivate them. But sympathy and interest should be balanced with discretion and tact, which require sharp social perception (Vera, Valentina, section 5.2.9).

Acceptance of people as they are and refusal to change people helped Lidiya to resolve conflicts: "When I suddenly realized it, I did not have any issues with people. I took another approach to dealing with problems: I saw that this person can do this and that person can do that. When you see the strengths and weaknesses of people it is much easier to resolve conflicts."

Interpersonal skills were also thought to be useful in helping the women to find a team of like-minded people, which is important for business. It is especially important with regards to investors. Darya underlined that in order to succeed as an entrepreneur she had to choose an investor, who shares her vision, her strategy of running a company and knows the risks involved: "If the only thing they are interested in is dividends, they will abandon you once you get into the trouble. Investors should be ready to take and share risks with you. They should believe in you and trust you. Otherwise they control your every step and tie your hands and you can't realize your strategy, which can involve risks and losses in the beginning." Zhanna thought that investors needed to "believe in you".

Also interpersonal skills helped women to deal with officials and to confront bureaucracy. As administrative regulation is underdeveloped and often involves corruption and bribes, obtaining necessary documents depends on the relationships with a particular person, who

has the power to give or refuse papers. Therefore, it is important to find a way to persuade this particular person to help them, and this depends on the women's ability "to size up the person behind the counter and to use your charm to gain their sympathy" (Vitaliya).

This suggests that entrepreneurs need to have a good understanding of people and know how to persuade and influence people's behaviour. The women entrepreneurs used different ways of doing this. Polina, for example, told the employees that the work they do is great in order to encourage their eagerness: "When you regard their work as a great feat, then they really start to work hard for you."

The women who worked in the audit business relied on their persuasion skills to convince clients to use the recommended accounting schemes and persuade tax authorities that their clients' financial statements were right. Because of the ambiguity of the financial and tax legislation and the complexity of juridical language, laws can be interpreted in several ways. So if their clients have legal trials, the auditors not only need to know the legislation perfectly, but they also need to be eloquent and persuasive in order to incline the judge towards their interpretation of the case.

Larisa talked about "relational management" with clients, which aims to establish friendly relationships with clients: "Once you are friends it is more likely that the clients stay with you, and even if you make a blunder in business, they'll forgive you because they want to keep your friendship." Familiarity with clients and partners is especially common for Russian businesses, where informal ties play an important role (section 2.2.3, p. 37).

Those women whose business consisted of selling products were wary of using too much persuasion, because consumers do not like to be forced to buy things. Therefore persuasion must be very subtle and almost invisible. Alla suggested that a consumer should be convinced not by a seller, but by the quality of the product. Elizaveta refused to persuade people to buy internet shops from her: "I don't want to persuade. I ignore my psychology background because I don't need people in my team, who will be just persuaded. I need people who are self-motivated, who can persuade themselves." Their caution or restraint when persuading someone reluctant to act, e.g. to purchase something not absolutely necessary, the women ascribed to their honesty (section 5.2.13, p. 174).

Self-presentation

Nine respondents named self-presentation as a factor of success. In business one has to deal with a lot of people: employees, clients, partners, bankers, officials. The impression one makes on people is important and helps to make these people one's allies. Ludmila thought that first impressions are especially important, because people are usually unwilling to change their opinion: "It is important to present yourself successfully from the very beginning." Ludmila believed her parents' over-protective upbringing imparted this ability (section 5.1.1, p. 141). Alisa and Alla understood this effect of good first impressions while they were studying at university and managed to get good reports without making much effort because of their ability to create a good image of themselves (section 5.1.2, p. 150).

People tend to pigeonhole others into a certain category from the very first time they see each other. These points were well made by Larisa. They look at a person's appearance, their speech, body language, voice, clothes and accessories. Larisa noticed that the position and title, written on the business card, can also affect people's perception of her. She held two positions in the company – general director of one firm and chief of the internal audit department of a bigger holding. She used two business cards depending on the person she is dealing with: when meeting bankers she handed out her card as general director and when meeting the tax officer – her card as head of the internal audit department. She also mentioned that the design of a business card counts: "It has to be printed on expensive paper and to have an original but not flashy logo."

Galina believed that one should be active in creating one's own self-image and shape people's opinion of you: "You should not wait until they notice you. You have to show yourself in all your splendour. Be in full view." Entrepreneurs can't rely on the astuteness of others, so they have to make an effort to create a good impression of themselves. Yuliya believed that "ability to present oneself" is the most important factor of success. Ludmila underlined the importance of good looks: "a woman must be attractive, well-dressed, lady-like, with good manners, and speak in a educated manner. Such a woman makes a good impression. And people want to communicate with such a woman and to establish trusting relationships with her. And all business relationships are based on personal relationships. That is why, if you are a good and interesting person you will succeed in business."

Ludmila's words suggest a gender aspect to the way in which she thinks women entrepreneurs should present themselves. Women's strategy to impress differs from that of men. Veronika thinks that women have an advantage in making a good impression simply because they can use their charm: "Women have an advantage over men in business – as in my case. When I had a meeting with male directors of taxi fleets and suggested creating a leasing company I read out the notes about leasing. And they just kept their eyes wide open devouring every word I read out!"

In Russian society the aspects of appearance are especially important for women. As it has been discussed in section 2.1.2 (p. 24), although the equality of genders was assured by the Soviet State the feminist movement did not get significant development. Traditional patriarchal values were not changed, but just masked by the state's equality policies. This resulted in the belief that a woman must be pretty and she is judged by her looks, which relates to "sexual availability myth" (section 2.2.4, p. 43). This also led to the suspicious attitude of men to excessively clever and successful women, especially if those men were officials or administrative workers, who are still stuck in the mentality of the past. Valeriya noticed that business men usually treated women entrepreneurs with respect because they had moved with the times more quickly, while officials tended to be still very "picky", as they seemed to be jealous of women's successes. However, there are positive spin offs to the importance placed on women's appearance in Russia. This was seized upon by Olga, who believed that women can use their charm to their benefit. Being an extremely attractive woman, she shamelessly declared that she found her clients by "putting on a fur, borrowing her friend's Mercedes and visiting estate agencies." When asked whether she was able to influence more easily men than women, she gave a theatrical look and said: "isn't it obvious?"

Reputation

Successful presentation of oneself helped to create prestige of the person. Prestige is partly the result of self-presentation and partly of reputation (Tatyana, Viktoriya, Diana, Darya). Nine women mentioned reputation as a factor of success. They also highlighted that good reputation is earned by word of mouth, and therefore depends on the number of people who know about the founder and the company, as well as the founder's position in society and business. Darya stated that it is the third "party" word of mouth, which is the most

important: “when someone you don’t know tells someone you don’t know about you – that is when you get rich.”

Most of the respondents agreed that reputation cannot be created from first impressions. It is earned over years by honesty and commitment to the business, to the people one works with and to one’s own self.

Commitment to business

Commitment to business means that one takes responsibility for one’s engagement in business and makes efforts to achieve the set goals. This requires interest, love and inputting of efforts into the work one is doing (Nataliya). These three things must come together. Interest and love without commitment come to nought. There are a lot of people who are easily interested in a goal, but then give up without finishing the task because they get distracted with something else. In turn, commitment without interest and love does not give any satisfaction. And success without satisfaction as indicated by the respondents is not a real success, but just an efficient performance (Elena).

Reputation is also gained through successful experience. Larisa and Marina noticed that their respective working experience in the field of audit and accountancy as well as the number of successfully carried out projects, earned them a good reputation in business circles and helped them to find new clients and partners.

But the entrepreneurs’ own commitment to business must be supported by their commitment to employees (section 7.2.1, p. 261) and has to be communicated to them. It can be done through a formalized procedure of creating a corporate culture (usually in larger companies) or by more informal tools of rallying staff (in smaller companies). Creating commitment in employees by entrepreneurs’ own example has been discussed in relation to the motivation of staff (section 7.2.2, p. 262). Tatyana developed this idea and underlined the importance of the atmosphere inside the collective for enhancing the business reputation. This in turn depends strongly on the behaviour of the boss: “It is the atmosphere in a collective and those rules of behaviour which make a company look good in the market. And this atmosphere is created by your own style of behaviour and your value system, which is transmitted to your staff. And it became very technical, because

now all these rules are set out in documents: the mission, company values and other aspects of corporate culture. Americans are very good at this as they like to write down everything on paper.”

Seven respondents compared their companies to a family highlighting the friendly atmosphere, mutual support that exists and the feeling of collective responsibility held by members of the company.

Commitment to yourself - Integrity

Nine women spoke about the importance of being true to themselves, following their true inner goals. Being honest and true to oneself was regarded by them to be an indispensable quality for entrepreneurs (section 5.2.13, p. 174). This was perceived to be important for two reasons. First, only commitment to one’s genuine aspirations can lead one to success, because success, as it has been discussed in section 7.1 (p. 252), has two sides – exterior, which is expressed in the other’s approval and respect, and interior, which is expressed through inner satisfaction. Different respondents gave priority to one or the other aspect of success, but quite a few of them (nine) stated that in the absence of one or the other, success cannot be complete: “When a person manages to build their life according to their inner objectives - this is success and the person feels happy ... I think it is important not to substitute your own aims and interests with that of others, and not to confuse the genuine success with the mere manifestation or appearance of success. Real success is when you are faithful to your inner objectives and to yourself” (Tatyana).

Marina, when asked what success means for her, asked whether it is success in business or success in life (section 7.1, p. 253). However, most of the respondents (21) said they cannot separate success in business from success in life. It means that business is integrated into their lives and that they can only be fulfilled, when they experience success in business and their personal life. Family, social environment and inner harmony are important to their happiness. Larisa believed that “only a business which contributes to your personal development can be called successful.” Valeriya cannot say, which she values more: business or family: “I can’t say what is more important to me – business or family. I need both to be happy.” Alla underlined the importance of integrity in life: “My greatest achievement in life is my family. I have one child, and I am going to have a

second. I managed to achieve harmony, happiness and mutual understanding. My husband admires my business and respects it.”

However, sometimes commitment to business and commitment to yourself did not go well together. Viktoriya recalled the situation, when she had to choose between success in business and inner harmony and was forced to break her personal principles “conflict of interests”: “Every time you take a concrete decision. For example if you have to talk to people with whom you would not talk in other situation. In this case, you feel a certain discomfort, but you can overcome it. And your motivation becomes more important than your principles. And there are other situations, when I will sacrifice success for principles. But whenever I sacrifice my principles I know why I am doing it.” Viktoriya’s words underlined the importance of consciousness, awareness of the logic of one’s decisions and being true to oneself.

Second, integrity, apart from following one’s interests, means well-founded self-evaluation. One should not delude oneself and should be aware of one’s weaknesses and strengths. Only knowing oneself allows one to make the best choices for one’s life. And third, being true to yourself gives a person assurance and self-confidence and enables them to deal effectively with doubts: “In order to be successful the most important thing is to find a mutual understanding of one’s self, within yourself. To have an inner assurance, that what you are doing is right. If you have any doubts - it throws you off balance” (Klavdiya). Nadezhda noted that physical well-being is as important as one’s mental well-being: “You need to be in a good health. Health is essential.”

Klavdiya referred to inner assurance and introduced this new and important criterion for success. This she called “faith” and will be discussed in greater detail in the following paragraphs.

Faith

If one wants to achieve success, one must believe that one is capable of achieving it. Self-assurance in relation to the need for achievement was already discussed in section 5.2.3 (p. 162). Faith is something more than just self-assurance: “Faith increases self-confidence,

faith gives energy, faith creates favourable circumstances”, said Vera. She even called her company “Vernal”, which is an abbreviation of the Russian words “faith, hope and love.”

But faith should not be blind: “The first pledge of success is to believe. But not as a fool that everything will be fine. You have to plan, consider all variants and even consider the ways of retreating. But faith is needed. Faith that you can do it. But it should not be blind faith. It has to be proved. You have to prove to yourself that you can do it” (Veronika). This echoes the women’s belief that self-assurance should be well grounded on knowledge and expertise (section 5.2.3, p. 162)

Svetlana noticed that the value of faith is to enable one to overcome one’s doubts: “when you have started doing something you should not have any doubts. Before you start you can have doubts. But when you start, you can only have doubts about tactics but not strategy and not results” (Svetlana). Faith also helps you to cope with failure: “If you understand at some stage that you have made a mistake you have to stop and to say “yes, this time I failed, but it does not mean that I am a failure. I will be able to do something else and start again” (Oksana).

Svetlana repeated the opinion of Klavdiya (p. 274), that the doubts must be eliminated. But in doing this one must be careful and consider the amount of bearable risk, illustrating the women’s prudent attitude to risk, which was highlighted in section 5.2.4 (p. 163). It does not mean that an entrepreneur cannot make mistakes, but one should learn from one’s own mistakes and try to correct them (Galina). The trick is not to blame yourself for the past mistakes, because this is a waste of time and energy and can cause depression, but to adjust one’s behaviour for achieving in the future (Veronika).

Desire

Faith is generated by strong desire: “The most important thing for achieving success is a strong desire. I don’t understand people who are whining and crying that they can’t achieve what they want to” (Nastya). Nastya’s words underline the importance of positive thinking and illustrate a strong correlation between faith and desire. Even when the circumstances are not favourable, a person with a strong belief and desire can use them to

their own profit. Diana, reflecting about the communist time, refused to criticize it, because “All days are good for people with a positive attitude.”

According to Yuliya it is difficult to define which comes first, faith or self-confidence, faith or capability. Sometimes people’s faith needs support from outside, often from someone, who is already successful. This is illustrated by a story that Yuliya told of how she helped one girl to realize her dream just by persuading her to believe in it: “I told her that she can achieve anything she wanted: “You have just to wish it very strongly.”

But as it is important to distinguish blind and well-grounded faith, it is important to distinguish active and passive desire. Oksana made this distinction very clearly: “If you say you want something, but don’t do anything to realize your wish, except dream about it – then, you don’t really want it. If you want something – you do it.” Active desire means that one puts the efforts to realize it and it requires the commitment to one’s goal, which was discussed earlier in the chapter (p. 273).

“I want” + “I believe” = “I can”, - was the formula for success provided by Klavdiya. Yuliya introduced a mystical nuance to desire, suggesting that the desire works as an energy, which connects our lives with a bigger energy of the universe: “The main thing for success is desire. Because all our thoughts are material ... The more you think of your success in detail and send this information to the cosmos, the more quickly it will give you the reply.” This mystical view finds resonance with the women’s belief in guiding supernatural forces, which was discussed as one of the personal traits of the women entrepreneurs in the fifth chapter (section 5.2.8, p. 168).

Vision

Tatyana agreed with Yuliya that one should have a clear vision of one’s objectives: “The most important thing for success is to be conscious of what you want to achieve.” Irina continued this line of reasoning: “First of all you must have a goal. If you don’t have a goal, there is nothing you can strive for, then you don’t have a direction. And if you don’t know where you want to be, how can you arrive at the point of your destination?” Alisa, who took tango classes, compared the lead in dance with the lead of the company: “If a man wants to lead you in some steps, he must be clear about what he is going to do.”

Elizaveta underlined the importance of goal-setting for success: “Life changes because of the goal. Every successful person has a goal. If you don’t know where you are going, you will come to nothing.”

Olga is the only respondent who denied this point of view: “I did not want to achieve anything in life. I was just living. I never set out to create a business. It’s just that I could never be last.” However, if we listen attentively to her words, we can notice that she did have a goal, although she did not realize it as a goal. Business was not the first goal for her, it was the means of pursuing another hidden goal – to be top, or in her words, “not to be last.”

Vision requires not only determination to reach the final goal, but also an action plan for achieving this goal. Larisa said there are three important capabilities which enable one to achieve success: “to think, plan and analyze.” However, clear vision does not necessarily mean a very precise action plan. Quite the contrary, the respondents highlighted flexibility of tactics and paying attention to “distracting elements”. Galina gave an interesting analogy of searching for success was like searching for treasure in the forest: “You can have a map, which gives you the location of the treasure. But maps are never wholly accurate, not in business, and especially, if you do business in Russia. So if you follow your precise action plan and go straight to the place you think the treasure is, ignoring everything that distracts you on the way, you may not find your treasure. But may be the noise that distracts you somewhere in the bushes at the side, will show you the real place where the treasure is buried. And if you had ignored the distracting noise and followed the strict action plan blindly, then you might have missed the treasure.” Galina’s suggestion refers to the importance of intuition, sensitivity to the environment and attention to details, which will be discussed later in the chapter (p. 280).

Flexible strategy does not necessarily mean being inconsistent in one’s behaviour or unfaithful to one’s principles (conformism). By changing the strategy, the women entrepreneurs did not change their main goal, but the means of achieving it. Furthermore, in most cases, it seemed to be very reasonable and wise. In the words of Vera: “Why bash your head against a brick wall, when you can just go around it?”

Polina also believed that although “a successful person is curious and easily interested” one has to balance concentration on reaching one’s goal with taking in broader interests: “If you are too fixated on the goal, then you are narrow-minded and you can’t see the things, which could help you in achieving your goal. And you just become a boring person. But if you waste your time and efforts on everything that distracts you, then you will get lost in the big-big world. So you must have a vector.”

Resuming the respondents’ reflections on vision, it can be said that achieving one’s goal requires clear vision, confidence and wisdom based on experience to deviate when necessary from the path and have the flexibility to adapt to changing circumstances.

Knowledge

As it was discussed in section 5.2.10 (p. 172) women believed that in order to be good leaders they needed knowledge and competence. The respondents talked about knowledge in two ways: knowledge of their industry business and management knowledge. The amount and the level of complexity of knowledge required differed from one business to another. The businesses in the industrial sector required more technical knowledge, such as understanding of technology, knowledge of the product, etc. This knowledge is mostly explicit. As the women entrepreneurs working in industrial sectors were not all professionals in this sector, many had to acquire this specific knowledge: “I had to learn the technology – not in detail – but I had to learn the technological processes” (Irina). The women explained the importance of acquiring knowledge about the technology in order to calculate expenses and to be able to communicate with technicians and workers, and sometimes even to manage them and to ensure that they were not being deceived: “If I had not had an understanding of the technology, then they (workers) might have easily pulled the wool over my eyes” (Valeriya). Even in such industries as clothes design, the entrepreneur requires quite substantial explicit knowledge of sewing, fabrics and sewing-machines, in addition to having creativity (Yuliya and Nastya).

Businesses in the service sector, especially in consultancy and accountancy such as the auditing business, also require extensive explicit knowledge about legislation, accounting, finance, taxes etc (Elena, Marina, Ludmila and Larisa). Moreover, it requires constant upgrading of knowledge, as the legislation in the financial field has not been fully

established in Russia and is constantly changing and acquiring new laws quite frequently. Services also require tacit knowledge of negotiation, persuasion and explanation, as the directors of audit companies must communicate with clients, often at top-management level and establish their own individual approach.

Businesses trading in goods require more practical or common knowledge, such as knowing consumer behaviour and psychology, but also require some explicit knowledge, such as knowing the market. Galina thought that capability to sell is something people can gain from everyday experience: “No special knowledge is needed. To be able to sell is an everyday quality. We all sell something. We sell our children the idea of tidying up the flat, or a summer holiday.” Elizaveta pointed to the importance of human qualities and learning ability for a seller rather than specialist knowledge. Those personal qualities included “a capability to communicate, to feel psychology... to befriend, to establish and maintain contacts, not to befriend for interest, but just to be friends with a person.” Elizaveta’s logic suggests that it is not the knowledge in itself which is important, but the capability of being able to acquire and apply it.

So, knowledge, required from the women entrepreneurs, includes knowledge of the industry, technology, product and legislation, which are mainly explicit; management knowledge, market knowledge and client knowledge, which are mainly tacit. Different types of knowledge for different business sectors are summarized in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5. Knowledge, used by the women entrepreneurs

Sector	Tacit knowledge	Explicit knowledge
Industrial sector	Management	Technology; product; finance
Service sector	Management; client	Legislation; taxation; finance
Trade	Management; consumer	Product; market; finance

Intuition

Twelve women named intuition as one of the factors of success. Intuition, combined with knowledge, was one of the qualities that Valeriya admired in her former colleague – Russian prime-minister Viktor Chernomirdin (section 5.1.1, p. 146). The interpretation of intuition was discussed in section 5.2.7 (p. 167). They interpreted intuition as “the ability to think with the heart” (Irina); “seeing the whole picture” (Diana); and “the voice of the soul or conscience” (Nastya), always claiming it helped understand their mission in life and making the right choices. This section will focus on how the women use intuition in business.

First, intuition led the women to starting their business. By following their intuition in everyday life many of the women exploited opportunities – they were in the right place at the right time and said the right things to the right people. Tatyana met her future business partner at an exhibition; Oksana was the first to propose cruises on the tourist market; Olga found her first clients in a newspaper; Galina started her trade after meeting with people from buddhistic temple in the underground; Svetlana had a burning idea to open up a wine shop after a holiday in France; Elizaveta called her friend at the right moment; Yuliya grasped the gap in the fashion market. All these decisions to seize opportunities were attributed by the women to relying on their intuition for seizing the opportunities.

The very decision to start up a business was often intuitive and not very much planned. This decision is connected with immeasurable and uncontrollable risk, as the respondents started their businesses when the economy was unstable, the legislative system underdeveloped and social environment in transition. Intuition told the women entrepreneurs whether it was worth taking the risk or not. Also intuition helped them to adapt their business ideas to market trends: they “felt” which way the economy was developing, the changes in consumer’s demand and chose those niches for their businesses, which answered the actual needs of society, or of a small group of their target consumers. For example, Galina started to trade Chinese tea sets just as the fashion for tea ceremonies was beginning to emerge in Russia. Then, she anticipated the fashion to eat healthy and vegetarian food and opened the first vegetarian restaurant in Moscow.

Second, the respondents used intuition in their HR management. Intuition, according to the women, helped them to direct, influence people and be charismatic leaders (as it has been discussed in section 7.2.2, p. 267). A charismatic leadership style is highly intuitive (Viktoriya). Even those respondents, who appeared to have an analytical approach to strategy and, who knew all the theories of motivation, stated that they managed intuitively. Intuition helped women entrepreneurs to maintain a balance between control and democracy, (see discussion in section 7.2.1, p. 259). Also women intuitively seemed to understand people's needs and capabilities, and therefore felt confident that they knew how to motivate staff and get the best from them. Intuition, together with emotional intelligence and interpersonal skills helped women entrepreneurs to resolve conflicts (p. 268). The respondents relied on their intuition when hiring staff by paying attention to achieving mutual understanding in personal relationships that were based on common values (section 7.2.1, p. 258).

Third, by relying on their intuition, the women believed that it gave them advantages over their competitors: "If everybody follows the same rules based on logic and calculation then everybody will go the same way" (Olga). According to Oksana in an increasingly competitive environment with more sophisticated and demanding consumers that are strongly influenced by fashion, it is the one who is more intuitive that wins the race. So, in these terms the women used intuition to make up for the lack of information and to fill in the gaps between "the scrappy pieces of knowledge" (Oksana) that they had. This resonates with the discussion on human capital in section 5.3.1 (p. 179), which suggested that the women compensated for their limited entrepreneurship-specific human capital (experience in business) with their extensive general capital and tacit knowledge, which includes intuition.

Fourth, the women used intuition when making decisions and taking risks. Relying on intuition did not mean the absence of calculation. When asked whether she used intuition or calculation to make decisions, Olga answered: "It is intuition, who calculates. What is intuition? You calculate, calculate and calculate, and intuition tells you if you calculated correctly or not". Lidiya made decisions about investments the same way as she decided to buy a new dress: "I try everything myself, when considering an investment: if it suits me, I'll go for it; and if I don't need it - why would I invest? And this is intuition. I don't know if it is right or not."

However, some women sometimes used intuition to replace their lack of knowledge about a certain matter. Certainly in the area of their personal relationships both analytical and intuitive women entrepreneurs relied more on intuition. The women, however, did not all rely on their intuition when taking strategic or financial decisions. The intuitive women entrepreneurs (12) appeared to have a sense of strategic direction, but tended not to use explicit strategic plans, although there may have been a business plan. Instead, their strategy seemed to emerge as a result of tactical decisions, taken with an understanding of the strategic context. The analytical women entrepreneurs (18) tended to be those women who had rather big businesses or even holdings of several businesses or businesses in the sphere of financial and auditing services.

And finally, within the more criminal-oriented environment of Russian business (section 2.2.3, p. 41) intuition helped women to avoid danger, to avoid risky deals, suspicious people and dodgy offers. The context of the Russian business environment is characterized by the high level of fraud, dishonesty and crime, paucity of information about the companies and their leaders, unreliability and insufficient transparency of financial statement and even the absence of it in very small businesses (Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003; Estrin et al, 2005; Kupreshenko, 2008). There is even an expression “*kinut na dengi*” which is literally translated “to abandon for money” and means to deceive a partner and make him lose money. Usually, it is not a direct theft, but the refusal to honour an agreement, often made verbally, which may leave the “abandoned” party in serious financial shortfall.

Luck

The unstable and sometimes dangerous environment of Russian business (section 2.2.3, p.41) is the reason why another essential factor of success, mentioned by twelve women entrepreneurs is luck. Galina, for example, managed to secure a very favourable pearl buying contract because she did what the Chinese sellers expected from her: she needed to guess a thread of river pearls in the bunch of sea pearl threads. By guessing it she managed to persuade the sellers that she was an expert in pearls and was, therefore, eligible for price discounts. This episode was discussed in relation to fatalism (section 5.2.8, p. 169) as Galina believed that it was a supernatural force that helped her to do it.

In the fifth chapter (section 5.2.12, p. 173) the issue of locus of control was raised. The respondents' accounts indicated that for these women entrepreneurs the locus of control was external rather than internal. It means that they believe that circumstances control their life and decisions, rather than that their decisions create the circumstances. Recognition of luck as an indispensable factor of success reflects the external locus of control of the women entrepreneurs.

However, locus of control is a perception, rather than a factual situation (Chell, 1985, section 3.3.3, p. 81). The women can think that they depend on circumstances and on chance, but in reality, it can be said that they created these circumstances by their decision and attracted lady Luck. Polina believed that there is no luck as an external magical force, but that it is a logical and predictable result of the number of attempts one makes: "There is no such a thing as luck, there is a theory of possibility. If one takes three chances and only one wins, he thinks he is unlucky. And if one takes thirty chances and ten of them win, then he is lucky. But the possibility of winning is the same in both cases. There is no magic in luck, you just have to try more."

Luck also required preparation: "You have to set the traps to catch the bird of Luck" (Galina). "I feel lucky" means that one is ready to spot the opportunity, to use the chance given. Tatyana compared this readiness with sailing a vessel: "The ship needs the wind to sail. The wind is luck. You can't control the wind. But you can set sails in a way that the wind brings you to the point of your destination." And also luck involves risk: "*Kto ne riskuet tot ne piyet shampanskoe* -The one who does not risk, does not get to drink champagne", - Zhanna recalled the famous Russian expression.

Distinction of blind and well-founded faith discussed earlier in the chapter echoes with the distinction the respondents make between the notion of "being lucky" and the notion of "being fortuitous". If one tries one's best, and then the circumstances favour one's aspirations, one is lucky. But when a person does nothing or makes mistakes, and then manages to avoid putting themselves into trouble, then she is fortuitous. Believing that you are lucky does not mean that you make no effort or ignore your mistakes and weaknesses (Svetlana, Elizaveta). You have to accept your weaknesses and should not blame yourself for them (Klavdiya). But forgiving yourself does not mean that you should not try to improve on your weaknesses, should not try to improve. In general Vera thought that in

order to be capable of forgiving yourself and at the same time strive for self-improvement you have to love yourself.

So, the attitude of the women to luck was mixed: some of them (seven) thought that luck is something completely beyond their control; others (five) believed that by their actions they could create and exploit lucky opportunities. The rest of the respondents did not emphasize luck as a factor of success.

Love

Fourteen women underlined the importance of love for being successful. Although love might seem irrelevant when operating in a calculating, selfish and competitive business environment, in the women's opinion loving people in business will prove to be logical and even profitable. Love was already mentioned in relation to interpersonal skills as their origin and core (section 7.2.2, p. 268). This section gives more details on how the women entrepreneurs interpret and apply love in business.

The love that the women spoke about is the love for yourself, love for people and love for the work one is doing. How the women perceived love as a means to help them succeed in business is explained in the subsequent paragraphs.

First, some of the women pointed out that love makes people happy. A happy person attracts other happy people, and creates an atmosphere of happiness around them. This atmosphere seems favourable for luck. So, "If you are happy, you are lucky" (Ludmila).

Second, love creates energy. If you love you have energy. And you should use it, invest it into something or someone, because otherwise this energy will destroy you. This point was mentioned by Galina in relation to restlessness (section 5.2), when she conveyed that if she does not use the energy inside of her creatively she "burns out". So some women in the sample (six) claimed to invest the energy given to them by love into business.

Third, love is the strongest stimulus for any creation (Klavdiya). Approval of others as a criterion for success was mentioned in section 7.1 (p. 252). But some women entrepreneurs (11) claimed to need this approval not only for recognition and pride. They wanted others

not only to approve their work, but also to share their joy of the results that they had achieved. That is why Valentina is so pleased to notice her employees working not for money, but for “the prosperity and common wealth of the company” (section 7.2.1, p. 259). Love as a stimulus for creation brings us to the notion of devotion. The women entrepreneurs wanted to devote their success to someone. That is why they needed to love to succeed. Furthermore, that is why the motivation “concern for others” was mentioned by many (section 5.2.3, p. 216).

Fourth, love drove some of the women (10) to help others. When they devoted their energy to their staff, the staff worked better, so that in the end the women entrepreneurs received more energy back than they had given. Tatyana compared the process of investing love to capital investments. The easiest model of business is giving one sum of capital at the input and receiving a bigger sum of capital on the output. Investing positive energy, which is love, follows the same rules. Elizaveta was given the following suggestion by her mentor before she became successful in her business: “give yourself fully to people”. Alla formulated this rule in other words: “the most important thing is to be capable to love people, to help them and to be interested in the success of the other person.” Several respondents agreed that an entrepreneur should think first of everyone else first and not about their personal success. Furthermore, when the business helps their employees, the products and services help their clients. This echoes that the women measure success in terms of the extent to which their clients and employees feel satisfied and happy (section 7.1, p. 253). As it has been mentioned earlier (section 7.2.1, p. 261), love is essential in relations with employees because it allows the women entrepreneurs to accept them as they are, both their strengths and weaknesses.

Surprisingly love can help even in relations with competitors: “Love is the refusal to fight. But the refusal to fight does not mean defeat. It means victory without fighting” (Klavdiya). Diana reflected on the book “The Art of War” by Sun Tzu (Tzu, 2004) and its practical use for business. Sun Tzu believed that “to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence. Supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy’s resistance without fighting. Therefore, the skilful leader subdues the enemy without fighting (as a woman does). He overthrows their kingdoms without lengthy operations.”

Galina thought that the connection between entrepreneurship and philosophy is not accidental. Neither is it a decoration or a boast. It is a logical interrelation. In order to win – no matter whether it is business, war or love affair – you have to be not only clever, but wise. Vitaliya recalled an aphorism: “A clever person can solve a problem, a wise person can avoid it.” Moreover, philosophy helps a lot in acquiring wisdom. As Nadezhda noted, many great rulers, leaders and commanders knew philosophy. Valeriya was convinced that reading books about Ekaterina the Great and Napoleon helped her to develop leadership qualities. This relates to the discussion about the women’s role models, which they sometimes found in talented politicians (section 5.1.1, p. 145). According to Veronika many women possess a natural wisdom without having read any philosophy.

Diana believed that business is not a military war but the war of ideas and strategies. The period when “The Art of War” was written, was at a time, when a very competitive environment flourished in China – not only military but the competition of ideas. The central idea of “The Art of War” – to win with minimum efforts, invisibly. To achieve the maximum effect with minimum cost. Diana noted that it reflects the equation of profit maximization. The difference between the women’s entrepreneur’s strategy and the one suggested by Sun Tzu is that one of the central methods of “Art of war” is deception, whereas the women entrepreneurs value honesty, good reputation and love. But love is the women’s weapon – “we conquer by love” (Elena).

The intrinsic factors of success are summarized in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6. Intrinsic factors of success

Name	Inspirational leadership	Interpersonal skills	Self-presentation	Reputation	Commitment to business	Integrity	Faith	Desire	Vision	Knowledge	Intuition	Luck	Love
Marina		+		+	+					+			
Ludmila	+	+	+	+	+					+		+	+
Elena				+	+					+			+
Vitaliya	+	+								+			
Nadezhda	+	+				+				+	+	+	+
Irina										+			
Diana	+			+	+			+					+
Oksana								+					
Tatyana	+	+		+	+	+			+				+
Valeriya	+	+	+	+		+				+		+	+
Natalya										+			
Nastya								+			+	+	
Olga	+		+								+		
Darya		+		+									
Lidiya		+											+
Zhanna		+									+	+	
Galina	+		+				+	+	+		+	+	
Lubov	+	+			+	+	+				+		+
Viktoriya	+	+		+	+	+			+	+			
Larisa		+	+	+	+	+			+	+			+
Alla	+	+			+	+	+						+
Svetlana		+					+				+	+	+
Elizaveta	+	+			+		+		+		+	+	+
Valentina		+								+			
Polina	+	+	+					+	+		+	+	
Veronika	+		+				+				+	+	
Vera		+				+	+		+		+	+	+
Yuliya	+		+					+	+		+		
Alisa	+	+	+									+	
Klavdiya						+		+					+
Score	16	19	9	9	10	9	7	7	8	11	12	12	14

7.3. Theoretical discussion

The factors of success the respondents talked about can be clustered into three areas:

- Self-efficiency;
- Efficiency of communication inside the company (staff’s efficiency);
- Efficiency of communication outside the company (relations with clients, partners and greater society).

Table 7.7 illustrates which issues were highlighted by the respondents in relation to these areas.

Table 7.7. Three areas of success

Area of success	Success factors
Self-efficiency	Integrity; Faith; Desire; Vision; Knowledge; Intuition; Love
Staff’s efficiency	HR management; Inspirational leadership; Interpersonal skills; Commitment to business; Intuition
Efficiency of communication outside the company	Self-representation; Reputation; Commitment to business; Vision; Knowledge; Intuition; Luck

Source: section 7.2

Each success factor discussed in section 7.2 can be associated with one or more personal traits discussed in section 5.2, as well as with the motives discussed in section 6.2. Table 7.7 illustrates the connection between success factors, personal traits and motives.

Table 7.8. Connection between factors of success, personal traits and motives.

Factor of success	Personal trait	Motive
HR management	Interpersonal skills, empathy, intuition, leadership skills, honesty	Benefit others
Leadership skills	Leadership skills, intuition	Leadership
Interpersonal skills	Interpersonal skills, intuition	Benefit others
Self-representation	Self-assurance	Recognition
Reputation	Self-assurance	Recognition
Commitment	Diligence and perseverance, honesty	Achievement, self-actualisation
Faith	Self-assurance, resilience	Great dream, self-actualisation
Desire	Need for achievement	Great dream, achievement
Vision	Self-assurance, leadership skills	Creation, great dream, idea
Knowledge	Restlessness, interpersonal skills, intuition, leadership skills	
Intuition	Intuition	
Luck	Locus of control, intuition	
Love	Interpersonal skills, empathy	Benefit others

Source: sections 5.2, 6.2 and 7.2.

Many success factors are interrelated. It is difficult to favour one over another, as they operate synergistically, each one reinforcing the others. For example, a woman passionate about her work will invest greater effort into it; by investing greater effort, she is more likely to succeed. It also works the other way around: if a woman invests more effort and energy into her work, she will feel passionate about outcomes. Successful self-presentation, confidence and interpersonal skills contribute to reputation, an efficient corporate culture and an inspiring atmosphere for all involved.

Factors of success, as highlighted by the respondents, are closely related to motivation. In order to achieve success women entrepreneurs believed that they themselves must be highly motivated and in turn must motivate their employees. The respondents talked about needing a strong and active desire as an important prerequisite for the success of their business. In other words they needed to be highly motivated. Motivation as outlined by the women in this chapter will be discussed in relation to the expectancy theory model in subsection 7.3.1.

Intrinsic success factors highlighted by respondents in section 7.2.2 suggest that women entrepreneurs need to possess certain personal traits, skills and to develop certain patterns of behaviour in order to interact efficiently with employees, clients, partners, vendors and society in general. This allows linking intrinsic success factors to the institutional and social capital theories which will be discussed in subsection 7.3.2.

7.3.1. Expectancy theory model: Motivation of staff and self-motivation

It is known that motivation has a great influence on the survival, growth, and profitability of newly created organisations (Bird, 1988; Kats and Gartner, 1988; Norris and Carsrud, 1993; Scott, 2000). The importance of human resources and their motivation was regarded as one of the key factors of success by the respondents (section 7.2.1, p. 257) and finds resonance with Kanai's (1994) views that assumes that entrepreneurs' motivation to create something and their business concepts determine their interpretation and utilisation of management resources, insisting that mere business ideas and the accessibility of such resources are not sufficient conditions for start-up.

According to McClelland (2007), achievement motivation is essential for successful performance, as this motivation is based on the desire to achieve better results, “to make something better for the sake of the satisfaction of the improvement in your activity” (McClelland, 2007, p.262). In his examination of achievement motivation McClelland (2007) proposed the idea that the strength of this motivation depends on the expectations of success, experience or competence, and value that an individual ascribes to the result. In this argumentation he refers to the expectance theory model, developed by Porter and Lawler (1968, section 3.2.3, p. 75). This model implies that the person is motivated when they perceive the linkage between their efforts and level of performance (expectancy variable), the linkage between level of performance and outcome or reward (instrumentality variable), and when the outcome has a value for them (valence variable). The higher the motivation is, the stronger are these linkages.

The subsequent sections discuss how aspects of the women’s responses outlined in this chapter relate to expectancy, instrumentality and valence. In particular, the researcher discusses these with regard to how the women entrepreneurs viewed their approach to motivating staff and motivating themselves.

Motivation of staff

The Effort-Performance linkage - Expectancy (Garland, 1984; Karathanos, et al., 1994)

The following examples were cited by the women as a way of encouraging staff to maximize their input and performance at work (section 7.2.1). This included:

- giving reasonably challenging tasks for employees, taking into consideration their abilities, education, training, skills, and experience (p. 261);
- considering the employees’ perception of their ability, their self-esteem and self-confidence, and their emotional state (p. 261);
- helping employees in their developmental efforts, encouraging them to achieve higher levels of performance and appreciation of any progress (p. 263);

- allowing and forgiving honest mistakes, which encourages employees to try new approaches and techniques and in this way fosters creative thinking and innovation (p. 261);
- informing employees about the impact and importance of their work for success of the company (p. 262).

McClelland (1961, section 3.3.1, p. 78), suggested that setting reasonably challenging or “mildly difficult” tasks that leave some element of difficulty were considered best for achievement motivated people, because it provides people the best opportunity to show their competences and to stand out among others. So, by choosing the appropriate level of difficulty, the women entrepreneurs encouraged achievement motivation in their employees (section 7.2.1, p. 261).

Furthermore, by ensuring that employees understand the importance of their work in fulfilling the company’s mission and giving generous approval of their successes (section 7.2.1, p. 262) the women entrepreneurs helped their staff to feel productive, involved, useful and competent, therefore increasing their employees’ satisfaction when performing meaningful work. Underlining the importance of the job employees do and appreciating their work helped to satisfy employees’ esteem needs. This finds resonance with Maslow’s fourth level in his hierarchy of needs (section 3.2.2. p. 72), namely the need for self-esteem and esteem from other people, which is expressed in recognition, attention and approval.

The Performance-Outcome linkage – Instrumentality (Mento, Locke and Klein, 1992; Fudge and Schlacter, 1999)

The women made a link between the quality of performance and rewards when they discussed:

- providing clear instructions of the requirements, criteria of evaluation of the work, performance measures and detailed description of goals (p. 263);
- developing trusting relationships (p. 261);
- providing fair and predictable rewards (p. 261);
- giving clear feedback that avoids ambiguity and misinterpretation (p. 263).

Feedback raises employees' motivation: if it is positive, it satisfies esteem needs (Maslow, 1954), and if it is constructive, it activates achievement motivation (Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001).

Valence (Rigsbee, 1996; Mento, Locke and Klein, 1992)

The women entrepreneurs increased the valence, or the value of the reward for their employees by:

- determining the salience of each of the available rewards from the perspective of the employee and ensuring that the rewards were highly valued in each case (p. 261);
- selecting an appropriate rewards structure which corresponded to the individual motivational structure of an employee (p. 261);
- combining material rewards with intangible rewards, such as signs of approval, namely awards, acknowledgements and other "tokens of esteem and recognition" (Rigsbee, 1996, p. 262);
- ensuring an alignment between the personal goals of their employees and those of the organization (p. 262).

Intangible rewards, such as approval, can be as effective as material as they increase the employee's self-confidence and satisfy their esteem needs (Rigsbee, 1996). This refers to the emotional intelligence, mentioned by some women entrepreneurs when they talked about raising employees' self-esteem and self-confidence and the satisfaction, felt by employees when they were being recognized (section 7.2.1, p. 262). So, the satisfied esteem needs increase both the effort that results in performance and the valence of the outcomes (Mento, Locke and Klein, 1992).

Furthermore, by relating personal goals of employees with organisational goals the women demonstrated that the attainment of personally valued rewards arise as a consequence of behaviour and performance aligned with the furtherance of organizational interests (section 7.2.1, p. 262). Satisfaction derived from the knowledge that the job was performed well, in the mind of employees, constitutes an intrinsic reward of high valence as noted by Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt (2001). Some women entrepreneurs talked about the importance of

corporate culture and shared values in the organisation (Tatyana, Diana, Olga, section 7.2.1, p. 262). Commitment to organisational values was taken into consideration in the staff selection process. The respondents stated that in choosing their employees they made sure that they share common personal or human values (section 7.2.1, p. 258).

Most of the guidelines, listed in relation to the variables of expectancy theory model, are achieved thanks to the women's intuition, interpersonal and social skills and charismatic leadership style. These will be discussed further in the section with regard to social skills.

Self-motivation

Expectancy (Atkinson and Reitman, 1956; Garland, 1984)

Atkinson and Birch (1978) suggested that the more the perceived possibility of success is the stronger is the tendency or the striving for achieving success. This view can be applied to the motivation of the women entrepreneurs as well. The stronger the women's expectation was that the work they were doing would be successful, the more motivated they were (section 6.2.9, p.221). High expectancy can be related to the faith, named by the respondents as a factor of success (section 7.2.2, p. 274). The faith they were talking about is the faith that they are going to succeed and the faith that they are doing the right thing.

The best known phrase differentiating the roles of managers and leaders suggests that "managers are people who do things right and leaders are people who do the right thing" (Bennis and Nanus, 1985, p. 21). The feeling of doing right things was named by several respondents as a condition and at the same time criterion of success (Alla, Svetlana, Galina; Table 7.1). It is a condition in a sense that in order to be successful an entrepreneur must do right things. It is a criterion in a sense that the women consider themselves successful when they have a feeling that they do right thing (section 7.1, p. 252). The women entrepreneurs understand what is right and what is wrong by "listening to their inner voice of conscience" (Tatyana) or on simpler words by intuition (section 5.2.7, p. 167). Here the feeling of inner harmony and confidence is very important. The respondents believed that the reputation of the company is created by commitment to business and commitment to self or integrity, which leads to inner harmony (section 7.2.2, pp. 272-273). So it is an ensemble of integrity, self-confidence and faith, which "expectancy" variable in

the expectancy theory model and which strengthen Effort-Performance linkage (Garland, 1984). Also, as the respondents perceive that often success depends on circumstances or on luck, the faith in luck or the feeling of “being lucky” should increase the expectancy variable and therefore the motivation of women (section 7.2.2, p. 282).

Instrumentality (Mento, Locke and Klein, 1992; Robinson, 1999)

The linkage performance-outcome for entrepreneurs differs from this linkage for employees because entrepreneurs are not bestowed by external employers, but by the results of their activity directly. So the relationship between performance and reward used in the model for personnel motivation in the case of the women entrepreneur’s self-motivation transforms into the efficiency relationship, which determines how the level of performance affects the results of activity.

McClelland (2007) noticed that often the need for achievement, which means to do something better, implies to do something in a new way. It relates to the search for a new and shorter way of achieving a goal. So McClelland proposed that it would be more appropriate to call achievement motive “efficiency motive”. McClelland (2007) concluded that achievement orientated people are inclined to search efficiency and be inventive. Efficiency, in turn, depends on knowledge and experience, or it can be said that it depends on explicit knowledge and tacit knowledge. The research on achievement motivation (Sheppard and Belitsky, 1966) also showed the connection between achievement motive and search for new knowledge and new information.

The women entrepreneurs talked about the importance of both sorts of knowledge (section 7.2.2, p. 278). They understand tacit knowledge in the terms of intuition and experience (section 5.3.1, p. 176). According to the words of the respondents both types of knowledge is important, but the proportion of this importance or the priority of a certain type of knowledge varies according to the type of business, including the sphere and the size of the business (section 7.2.2, p. 278). In large or highly technological businesses the importance of explicit knowledge is stronger than in small and low technological business. But the importance of tacit knowledge, expressed in the experience and intuition is equally essential in any kind of business (Table 7.5, p. 279).

Another thing that increases the relationship between performance and outcome is responsibility (Lawler, 1981). The women entrepreneurs repeatedly stressed readiness to take responsibilities for the outcomes of their activity as a distinctive feature of an entrepreneur (section 5.2). McClelland (1961) also noticed that people with high need for achievement prefer personal responsibility for the outcomes of an activity. Feeling responsibility means that the person believes that the result depends on his actions, therefore his need in achievement can be better satisfied if they feel more responsibility (section 5.3.2, p. 185).

Valence (Earle, 1996; Mento, Locke and Klein, 1992)

The result of the entrepreneurial activity is perceived by the women entrepreneurs as valuable if they have a strong interest in this business, feel passionate and love the work they are doing and have a strong desire to achieve their goals (section 7.1).

The respondents underlined the importance of a strong and active desire that drives them in their activity. This desire can be enforced when the results of the women's entrepreneurial activity will have an effect not only on their own life, but also on the lives of those whom they love. Therefore, affiliation motivation increased the desire to achieve, which means that achievement motivation is connected with affiliation motivation. Very close to affiliation motivation is "concern for others" motivation, discussed in section 6.2.3 (p. 216).

The expectancy theory model also helps to explain why women are strongly motivated by those altruistic motives (Fudge and Schlacter, 1999). When they see that the results of their work benefited other people, the valence attached to these result and perceived by the women multiplied according to the number of other people who benefit from their business and the emotional affinity that the women feel with those people (section 6.2.3, p. 217).

Also the valence of the outcome increased when these outcomes became known to many people, bringing the women entrepreneurs good reputation, publicity or even fame (section 6.2.4, p.217). Although many women entrepreneurs denied that they cared about publicity, it can be assumed that they did on the grounds, that they agreed to give an interview and most of them talked about themselves with pleasure. This finds resonance with the views

of McClelland (1961) who noticed that people with high need for achievement prefer the work where they can get the feedback on the successfulness of their activity.

And finally, the valence increased when the women associated the aims of their business with their personal aims or personal dreams (sections 6.2.12, p. 224). Sometimes the connection between these aims can be quite simple: business gives the women money to realise their great dream. But sometimes women's dream is to create a business or to produce some product (Yuliya, Diana, Nastya, Klavdiya).

Table 7.9 clusters each of the motivational triggers as discussed above, under the relevant element of the expectancy theory, thereby summarizing the relation between the model and the triggers noted by the women.

Table 7.9. Relation of expectancy theory model with motivational triggers for the women entrepreneurs and their employees

Motivation	Expectancy – Effort-Performance (Karathanos, et al., 1994; Atkinson and Reitman, 1956; Garland, 1984;)	Instrumentality – Performance-Outcome (Mento, Locke and Klein, 1992; Fudge and Schlacter, 1999; Robinson, 1999)	Valence attached to the outcomes (Rigsbee, 1996; Fudge and Schlacter, 1999; Earle, 1996; Mento, Locke and Klein, 1992)
Women-entrepreneurs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achievement motivation • Faith • Self-confidence • Luck 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge • Experience • Intuition • Responsibility • Vision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire • Love (affiliation motivation) • “Concern for others” motivation • Recognition motivation • “The Great dream” motivation • Idea motivation
Employees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choice of mildly difficult tasks, • Individual difference taken into account, • Emotional intelligence, • Esteem needs, • Clear instructions, • Recognition needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appropriate reward, • Fair treatment, • Clear feedback 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individually chosen structure of reward, based on both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, • Corporate culture, • Shared values between employees and entrepreneurs, • Like-mindedness

Source: based on sections 3.2.3, 6.2, 7.2 and authors per heading.

7.3.2. Social skills, social capital and institutional theory.

Aldrich (1989) regarded entrepreneurs not as independent decision-makers but as entities that function in social networks. Therefore, the ability of an entrepreneur to build and interact with these networks is essential for success. Baron and Markman (2000) have associated this ability with social skills that include impression management, social perception, persuasion and influence, and social adaptability. These aspects were also raised by the women (see Table 7.6, p. 287, section 7.2.2) and will be discussed with regard to theoretical perspectives in the subsequent paragraphs.

Impression management - Self-representation (Baron and Markman, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995)

The desire to receive recognition from and to be of benefit for others as motivating forces of the women's entrepreneurs (section 5.2), as well as the emphasis they place on reputation and self-presentation as crucial factors of success (section 7.2.2) confirms the idea that the respondents depend strongly on what other people think about them. It means that other's opinion and the impressions the women wish to make shape both their personality and behaviour. This resonates with institutional theory (Aidis et al, 2005; McMillan and Woodruff, 2002), which proposes that entrepreneur's behaviour and success depends on institutional context including informal institutions as people's views and beliefs.

The importance of self-representation, and especially good looks relates to the informal cultural rule of Russian society ("sexual availability myth", section 2.2.4, p. 43), which implies that a woman must be attractive and which resulted in women in the sample making many efforts to look good. Strangely, this rule contradicts to another widespread myth in Russian society, that a successful business woman cannot be feminine and attractive. However, the respondents claimed to use such a biased attitude to their benefit, using their charm as an asset rather than regarding it as a barrier (section 7.2.2, p. 270).

The past experience that also influences the impressions that entrepreneurs made on others refers to human capital, which can be general or specific (Bosma et al, 2004, section 3.5.2, p. 96). The value of general and specific investments in human capital was discussed in

section 5.3.1 (p. 179) and highlighted the importance of education and work experience of the women entrepreneurs.

Social perception - Interpersonal skills and intuition (Baron and Markman, 2000; Kenney, 1994)

Social perception was interpreted by the respondents as interpersonal skills and intuition (see Table 7.8). This helped some of the women to select appropriate tasks, which are challenging but achievable for employees, and motivating rewards. It also helped them to select employees and to build a team, where employees will complement one another in their skills and qualities (section 7.2.1, p. 257).

The dangerous and risky environment, typical for Russian business (section 2.2.3, p.41), increased the importance of social perception skills for entrepreneurs. Women entrepreneurs needed it even more, as they are more often considered to be easy targets to cheat and considered to be less vindictive than men (section 2.2.4, p. 42). The respondents claimed that intuitively guessing people's intentions often helped them to stay away from danger and hasty risk (section 7.2.2, p. 282). The same skills also helped some women to find reliable and like-minded partners and investors.

Persuasion and influence - Charismatic leadership (Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001; Davies, Stankov, and Roberts, 1998; Shavitt and Brock, 1994)

Persuasion and influence are skills which enable changing the attitudes or behaviour of others in desired directions (Shavitt and Brock, 1994). These qualities are very important for managing employees and establishing fruitful relationships with partners and investors (Baron and Markman, 2000; section 3.5.1, p. 95). The respondents stated that they used the informal power, which they associated with charismatic leadership, rather than formal power, associated with management, in order to persuade and influence their staff, as well as their partners and clients (sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2). The distinction made by the respondents between leaders and managers fits line with those found in the literature. The qualities of successful leaders suggested in the literature, such as being able to know one's followers (Miller, 1999), using intrinsic rewards (Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001), emotional intelligence (Davies, Stankov, and Roberts, 1998), honesty (Earle, 1996) and establishing a

relationship of mutual interest (Kouzes and Posner, 1993) relate to the means used by the respondents to motivate their staff (section 7.3.1, p.290).

Such description of leaders reflects the concept of transformational leadership (Bass, 1990), which implies that the transformational leader inspires others to follow along a pathway towards a vision in contrast to the transactional manager, who adopts a push strategy, engaging in exchange processes with the employee that include the use of rewards and sanctions to secure acceptable levels of performance. This human-oriented, transformational, committed leadership style, which was evident in the sample, is often attributed particularly to women entrepreneurs (Rosener, 1990).

Social adaptability (Baron and Markman, 2000; Kenney, 1994)

Baron and Markman (2000) suggested that persons with the ability to adjust to a wide range of social situations and to feel comfortable with individuals from diverse backgrounds attain greater success and more rapid promotion (section 3.5.1, p. 95). The women entrepreneurs associate social perception with flexibility, open-mindedness and interpersonal skills (see Table 7.10, p.303). They talked about flexibility usually in relation to the strategy that they employed, which changed according to the situation they found themselves and the people that were involved. Adopting flexible strategies often involved using intuition. Such a flexible approach to strategy (section 7.2.2, p. 276) suggests that many of the women entrepreneurs have an external rather than an internal locus of control. They were often adapting their strategy in response to a changing environment, which was quite unpredictable within a transition economy and an unstable institutional context (Welter et al, 2003). This echoes institutional theory (section 3.4) and illustrates how institutions shape the behaviour of the women entrepreneurs

Social capital (Coleman, 1988; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Welsch and Liao, 2005)

Using the distinction of structural and relational dimensions of social capital (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Welsch and Liao, 2005), the following section reflects how these two dimensions assisted the women entrepreneurs to establish and develop successful business.

The structural dimension of social capital refers to the number of people an entrepreneur knows (Welsch and Liao, 2005) and gives women entrepreneurs informational resources, which help them to develop a business idea, find a market, financial and human resources. The people a person knows will influence the impression this person makes on others and how they think of that person. There is a well-known Russian expression that sums up this view: “*skaji kto tvoi drug i ya skagu kto ti* (tell me who are your friends, and I will know who you are).” Therefore, someone in a central position of a personal network will be more likely to recognize business opportunities, access necessary resources, gain desired impression and achieve success in business (section 3.5.1, p. 93).

The women entrepreneurs stated that often the idea for business creation came from communication with people (section 6.1.3, p. 201). Those people could be from business circles, in this way often providing not just an idea, but also informational and human resources by sharing information about the market or the industry; introducing the women to their future clients; and helping them to find employees. Most often the women entrepreneurs came to know people from business circles through their previous employment: the scenario, when previous employer becomes the first client is especially typical for the business in audit and consulting (sections 5.1.3, p. 154 and 6.1.3, p. 200).

But sometimes those people can be just inspirational and/or entrepreneurial people, who are not connected with the business, but who inspired or directed the women’s thoughts towards starting-up a business. Several women said that they were inspired by the examples of successful people they knew (section 5.1.1, p. 145), who were not entrepreneurs, but who had an entrepreneurial mind.

Legitimacy, which is mentioned by Welsch and Liao (2005) in relation to structural dimension of social capital, is interpreted by the women entrepreneurs as obtaining a good reputation (section 7.2.2, p. 271). As reputation spreads through people, the greater is the structural dimension of social capital of the founder the more known the reputation of the company becomes.

As to the relational dimension of social capital which relates to the quality of personal ties (Welsch and Liao, 2005), the women entrepreneurs showed themselves talented in developing trusting, friendly and long-lasting relationships with all the participants of their

business development: employees, clients, partners, investors, officials. The respondents stated that they were able to do it thanks to their social skills, discussed earlier in the chapter, human qualities and charm (section 7.2.2, p. 271). It shows how some of the personal traits of the women entrepreneurs assisted them in gaining social capital, but also how their social capital needs encouraged the women to develop certain skills, in particular, impression management (Baron and Markman, 2000).

Within the business environment in Russia, friendly relations with officials was stated to be of a special importance, as administrative authorities proved to be a significant force, that can either destroy or support a business (section 2.2.3, p. 40). Speed of getting documents, tax and other inspections completed as well as the firm registration often depended on the quality of the women entrepreneurs' personal contact with the representative of the respective administrative body (section 7.2.2, p. 268). This illustrates particular qualities of the Russian institutional context, which privileges law executors over the law itself. In such conditions, informal institutions such as personal ties have a stronger influence on the women's success in business than formal institutions such as administrative regulation (Aidis et al, 2007; section 3.4.3, p. 89). Thus, the Russian institutional context increases the need to possess both structural and relational dimensions of social capital for successful business performance (Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003).

The fact that many women used informal personal networks, in particular their friends and relatives, to find their employees follows the logic of institutional theory, which implies that in the absence and weakness of formal institutions, which in the case of staff selection is represented by recruitment agencies or human resources departments of the companies, informal institutions such as networks of friends or former colleagues, become more important (Aidis et al, 2007).

The ways in which the women entrepreneurs interpreted and used social capital and social skills are summarised in Table 7.10.

Table 7.10. Social capital and social skills as perceived by the women entrepreneurs

Theoretical concept	The respondent's interpretation	Advantage for business
Structural dimension of social capital (Welsch and Liao, 2005)	People the women know	Suggestion of idea; Informational, human, financial resources; Reputation
Relational dimension of social capital (Welsch and Liao, 2005)	Quality of personal ties	Good relationships with employees, partners, clients; Access to administrative resources; Dealing with bureaucracy
Impression management (Baron and Markman, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995)	Self-representation	Gaining reputation and clients
Social perception (Baron and Markman, 2000; Kenney, 1994)	Interpersonal skills; emotional sensing; intuition	Selecting and motivating employees
Persuasion and influence (Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001; Davies, Stankov, and Roberts, 1998; Shavitt and Brock, 1994)	Inspirational charismatic leadership; intuition	Increasing employee's motivation and productivity; Dealing with clients; Getting funds from investors
Social adaptability (Baron and Markman, 2000; Kenney, 1994)	Flexibility, open- mindedness	Adapting strategy to changing environment

Source: based on sections 3.5.1 and 7.2; Table 7.6 and authors in the first column.

Concluding this section, the emphasis put by the respondents on social skills and social capital can be seen from two theoretical perspectives: expectancy theory and institutional theory. The former argues that these skills are needed for establishing good relationships with employees and thereby increasing their motivation by providing them with predictable and valuable rewards as well as appropriate tasks. The latter views these skills as a means of acquiring and expanding social capital, which is used in informal networking and enables the female entrepreneurs to adapt to changing institutional context in Russia. This observation suggests women perceive entrepreneurship as a socio-psychological activity; for them entrepreneurship is a social interaction first and foremost, implying emotional engagement, and therefore requiring emotional intelligence and other social skills discussed in section 7.3.2

Table 7.11 summarizes the theoretical discussion about the factors of success mentioned by the respondents (sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2) and illustrates the main ways in which these are linked to the three strands of theories discussed in chapter 3 and explored in this section: expectancy theory model, institutional theory and social capital theory with a reference to social skills.

Table 7.11. Linkages between factors of success and theoretical concepts

Factor of success	Expectancy theory model (Porter and Lawler, 1968; Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001)	Institutional theory (North, 1997; Aidis et al, 2005)	Social capital and social skills (Baron and Markman, 2000; Welsch and Liao, 2005)
HR management	Motivation of the staff is increased by strengthening of the linkages Effort-Performance, Performance-Outcome and increasing the valence of rewards for employees	Informal networks are often used for selection of the staff	Staff is motivated through persuasion and influence; social perception is used for selection of staff; Relational dimension of social capital insure good atmosphere in the company; structural dimension gives access to human resources
Leadership skills	Used to strengthen the linkages of the model, especially expectancy and instrumentality		Good leaders use social skills; their charisma is based on relational dimension of social capital
Interpersonal skills	Used to strengthen all the variable of the model	Are important in the context where formal regulations are weak and entrepreneurs have to rely on informal networks, where everything depends on good relations with those who have resources	Are part of social skills; important for acquiring social capital
Self-representation		Informal patriarchal culture require women to be good-looking	Is associated with the impression management; helps developing relational dimension of social capital
Reputation		In the weakness of formal ratings replaces legitimacy	Depends on the structural dimension of social capital
Commitment	Increases instrumentality		Needed to make good impression

Factor of success	Expectancy theory model (Porter and Lawler, 1968; Isaak, Zerbe and Pitt, 2001)	Institutional theory (North, 1997; Aidis et al, 2005)	Social capital and social skills (Baron and Markman, 2000; Welsch and Liao, 2005)
Faith	Increases expectancy		Needed for persuasion and influence
Desire	Increases instrumentality		
Vision	Increases expectancy and instrumentality	Needs to be flexible in unstable environment	Flexible strategies associated with social adaptability
Knowledge	Increases instrumentality	In the context where informal institutions prevail over formal, tacit knowledge becomes more important than explicit	Tacit knowledge comprises social skills; explicit knowledge helps to persuade
Intuition		In unstable and unpredictable business environment replace the lack of information and helps to stay away from danger and to measure risks	Associated with social perception
Luck	Increases expectancy	Its importance is overrated in the absence of formal institutional guarantees; trusting to luck is typical for national culture	Acquiring social capital (making useful contacts) often regarded as luck
Love	Increase instrumentality and valence	Is a strategy against competitors	Is the core of interpersonal skills, which make a part of social skills, and therefore is essential for acquiring social capital, especially its relational dimension

Source: based on sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2, 7.3.1, 7.3.2 and authors per heading.

7.4. Conclusions

This chapter has focused on analysing themes and issues found in nodes grouped under “Success”, “Management”, “Entrepreneur” and “Business” (sections 7.1 – 7.2) and discussing these with regard to expectancy theory model, social capital theory and institutional theory (section 7.3). It discussed how entrepreneurial women perceived and measured their success, what elements the respondents considered important for achieving successful entrepreneurial performance.

The analysis of the data (section 7.1) showed that the respondents’ perception of success included both internal and external measures of success, namely inner satisfaction and approval by others. The internal measure of success related to the motivations of achievement, self-actualisation and creation. The external measure related to their motivation to receive recognition (sections 6.2.4, p. 217). As Table 7.1 (p. 255) shows inner satisfaction was more important than external approval. Such an emphasis could be caused by the awareness of dangers of fame, expressed by certain respondents (section 7.1, p. 252). The respondents were divided on the extent to which they were result-oriented or process-oriented. Some of the respondents recognized that both process and result were important for success. The respondents highlighted intangible measurements of outcomes achieved, such as performance quality and client satisfaction, rather than tangible measures such as profits. Achieving a result sometimes consisted in overcoming a difficulty or solving a problem (section 7.1, p. 254).

The respondent’s perception of success echoes radical feminist thought, which questions who determines the criteria according to which measure the progress, and suggests that the measures of the success should be different for men and women (Brush, 1992).

The factors of successes as discussed in section 7.2 can be divided into human resource management and intrinsic factors of success, which included the women’s skills, attitudes and patterns of behaviour. Most of these factors can be associated with personal traits and motives (Table 7.8, p. 288).

Most respondents highlighted effective human resources management as an essential factor of business success (Table 7.3, p. 265); they believed this is best achieved by selecting the

right people to then subtly direct and adequately motivate. Employee motivation implied individually chosen rewards comprising both material compensation and expressions of approval. The respondents emphasized that various forms of rewards should address different levels of employees' motivation, prioritizing self-actualisation and professional development motivation before material motivation, and therefore stressing the importance of setting achievable goals, giving clear feedback and informing employees about their impact on the success of the company.

The results found resonance with much of the literature on expectancy theory, institutional theory and social capital theory. As the theoretical discussion shows, most of the factors named by the respondents as conditions of successful business performance can be related to expectancy theory model (representing a motivational aspect of entrepreneurship), in combination with either institutional or social capital theory (represent its social aspects).

The issues highlighted by the women entrepreneurs in relation to the motivation of staff find resonance with expectancy theory model. The way the women motivate their staff further resonates with the beliefs of McClelland (1961, 2007) with regard to achievement motivation, and with Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs with regard to the need for esteem.

Expectancy theory model also proved to be applicable when discussing those factors of success which the respondents considered intrinsic: faith, desire, love, commitment, knowledge and intuition. Those factors echo the variables of the expectancy theory model, which result in the entrepreneur's self-motivation. The leadership style used by the respondents recalls the description of transformational leadership (Bass, 1990), which is often attributed to women entrepreneurs in particular (Rosener, 1990).

Interpersonal and leadership skills, self-representation skills, intuition and flexibility of vision, mentioned by the respondents as intrinsic factors of success, can be united under the notion of social skills (Baron and Markman, 2000). These social skills help women entrepreneurs to acquire social capital, and to extend both structural and relational dimensions of social capital (Welsh and Liao, 2005). This conclusion finds resonance with social capital theory, which implies that higher levels of social capital lead to better

entrepreneurial performance (section 3.5.1, p. 92; Cooper, Gimeno-Gascon and Woo, 1994; Bosma et al, 2004).

The fact that informal networks prevailed within the structure of social capital acquired by the respondent echoes institutional theory (section 3.4): in the absence or weakness of formal institutions informal institutions begin playing increasingly important roles (McMillan and Woodruff, 2002). The same can be said about knowledge: in the scarcity of formal explicit knowledge concerning management and marketing, intuition, interpersonal skills and the ability to establish good relationships become more important (Aidis et al, 2005). The importance of luck as a factor of success also finds resonance with institutional theory, reflecting both cultural traits of Russian mentality (Harris, 1996) and unstable economic institutions (Kuznetsov and Kuznetsova, 2003; section 2.2.3, p. 37).

The respondent's perception of success and success factors echoes radical feminist criticism that questions the criteria according to which progress is measured, and suggests that the measures of the success should be different for men and women (Brush, 1992). The emphasis made by the women on their relationships and soft skills, such as empathy and love, finds resonance with feminist thought, which sees spiritualism and emotion as more influential than reason and calculation. Women's bodily experiences in conception, pregnancy, birth and lactation are thought to induce a variety of characteristics such as a connectedness with others and with nature, nurturance and a lack of aggression, while men's more removed reproductive role tends to enable them to be more separated from others, accordingly less integrally bonded and possibly less empathic. The factors of success identified by the respondents satisfy the appeal of radical feminists for more feminine metaphors to describe entrepreneurial activity and to create the new image of an entrepreneur with feminine face (Greer and Green, 2003). Feminist researchers in entrepreneurship sought to adjust the role and the portrayal of an entrepreneur for women instead of trying to make women suit the role of an entrepreneur. While efforts have been made to view a woman as a potential entrepreneur, the respondents described their entrepreneurial success in a way that allows an entrepreneur to be viewed as a woman, with a gender identity, rather than complete gender-anonymity.

To summarize, the feminist theory found resonance in the rhetoric of spirituality, used by the respondents when describing their entrepreneurial activity and their perception of

success. The expectancy theory model accounts for tactics respondents used to motivate their staff and themselves. Social capital is reflected by the emphasis placed by the women on the social skills they used to motivate staff and extend their networks. Institutional theory correlated with the respondents' accounts respecting the significant roles played by informal networks, luck or timing, intuition and self-representation.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS

The chapter reviews the theoretical and empirical issues covered in this research. It will provide conclusions on the important points drawn from the field work and presented in the data analysis sections of chapters 5, 6 and 7 and theoretical discussions that followed the presentation of data in each of these chapters. Specifically, it highlights the findings on personality (chapter 5), motivation (chapter 6) and success (chapter 7). Reflections on the research methodology and limitations are also given. Based on these conclusions, the chapter presents a summary of contributions that this research makes and identifies theoretical implications for researchers in the field of female entrepreneurship in Russia.

To this end, the chapter is structured as follows. It commences with a summary of the research (8.1), in which the researcher demonstrates how the research objectives and research questions of the thesis as outlined in section 1.2 have been addressed. Section 8.2 presents the contributions of the research, including contributions to knowledge, methodology and theory. Section 8.3 outlines the limitations of research and Section 8.4 proposes implications for further research.

8.1. Summary of the research

The numbers of women entrepreneurs is growing worldwide and women are taking more important roles in social life (section 1.1, p. 2). Transition from command to market economies in former socialist countries paved the way for the development of private ownership and entrepreneurship (section 2.2, p. 30). Small enterprises are considered to be vital for the growth of economy in all countries (section 1.3.3. p. 12), and their role is especially important in changing the institutional context in transition countries (section 2.2.3, p. 37). Russian women, who historically played an active role in society (section 2.1), were not excluded from this process of transformation. The last two decades have seen a substantial rise of female entrepreneurship in Russia (section 2.2.1, p. 31).

Entrepreneurship in Russia has been the research object of quite a few studies (section 1.3.3, p.12). However, not many of them addressed female entrepreneurs in particular. The

issues of female entrepreneurs' personal traits and motivation had not been studied adequately in the context of the Russian business environment (section 1.3.3, p. 14). Moreover, in a broader context, entrepreneurial motivation had not had a more substantial theoretical exploration in the last decade either (section 3.1.5, p. 59). Hence, the research hoped to contribute to the literature of both theoretical and empirical aspects of female entrepreneurship.

In view of all these facts this research aimed to analyse female entrepreneurship in Russia, notably among women owner-managers of small and medium sized enterprises in Moscow area, and to examine what motivated these Russian women entrepreneurs to set up and manage their own business as perceived by the female entrepreneurs themselves. The study focused on women entrepreneurs themselves, their personality, motivation and entrepreneurial experience, rather than on their businesses. The objectives of the research include:

1. To examine the context and growth of entrepreneurship, notably female entrepreneurship in Russia from 1987, the commencement of reforms, to present day;
2. To evaluate existing literature on female entrepreneurship with regard notably to female entrepreneurship in Russia since 1987;
3. To determine the theories found in the literature on female entrepreneurs and general psychology literature, which can be applied for explaining the motivation of women entrepreneurs.
4. To explore by means of interviews the personal characteristics of Russian women entrepreneurs as perceived by them, and evaluate the extent to which these may have influenced their decision to start and manage their own businesses;
5. To relate the findings of this research to the theories concerning entrepreneurial motivation and performance, found in entrepreneurship and motivation literature.

In order to achieve the fourth objective of this research the researcher intends to answer the following questions, which were formulated on the basis of literature review and data collection:

1. What is the background of Russian female entrepreneurs and do Russian female entrepreneurs share any personal traits, and if so, what are they?
2. What motivated Russian female entrepreneurs to start and manage their own businesses from 1987 onwards?
3. How do Russian female entrepreneurs interpret what has led to their entrepreneurial success?

The way in which the specific research objectives and research questions have been addressed by the findings is outlined in the subsequent paragraphs.

Objective 1 – The Context of female entrepreneurship in Russia

The first objective of the research was addressed in Chapter 2, which provided an overview of the development of entrepreneurship in Russia, the changes in the role women played in Russian society and their participation in entrepreneurship. Although Russian women from all classes were always socially active and did not want to restrict themselves to being housewives (section 2.1.1), the patriarchal culture that dominated in Russian society, denied them the opportunity to realise their talents and aspirations in business. However, the Soviet government gave women an opportunity to work on equal terms with men, because they needed women as a workforce to build the new socialistic state (section 2.1.2). This perception of equality of rights with men (though not equality of responsibilities, as women unlike men remained mainly responsible for domestic work) together with a habit to work hard implanted by Soviet propaganda, gave women confidence and strength to overcome the difficulties of disturbed times of the transition and to try new ways of self-actualisation, which was opened up to women in the transition period. One of these ways was entrepreneurship, although women are still under-represented in the sphere of business (they count for approximately 40% of small and medium size businesses and their share is smaller in big businesses and in top management

of big corporations), their businesses are not less successful than those owned by men (section 2.2.2, p. 32).

Objective 2 – Review of the literature on motivation of female entrepreneurs

The second objective of the research was addressed in section 2 of Chapter 2, which reviewed the literature on female entrepreneurship in Russia and section 1 of Chapter 3, which reviewed the literature on entrepreneurial motivation and motivation of female entrepreneurs in particular.

The issue of motivation has not received a thorough exploration within the research on female entrepreneurship in Russia. The studies conducted on Russian female entrepreneurs sought to identify the number of women entrepreneurs, their share in small businesses and in different industries (section 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). Only one topic was researched qualitatively by Chirikova (1998) – that of their management and leadership style (section 2.2.2, p. 35). When the research explored other topics such as motives, personal characteristics, problems, it did this quantitatively. The findings told the percentage of women who named this or that motive, or who characterized themselves in a specific way. However, it did not explore the meaning that women attached to the motives and the problems that they indicated.

The literature in the field of entrepreneurship has not covered in depth the issues of motivation of female entrepreneurs. This question was mainly analysed through the prism of push and pull situational factors. However, the intrinsic motivational factors, which lead women to start and develop their businesses, have not been given substantial attention by researchers (section 3.1.5, p. 59). The review of the literature on female entrepreneurship (section 3.1) identified key aspects, which formed the motivation of women entrepreneurs and include:

- Background, notably family background, education and previous work experience (Hisrich and Brush, 1986; Watkins and Watkins, 1983; Jean, 1997);
- Personal traits (Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; De Carlo and Lyons, 1979; Begley and Boyd, 1987; Perry, Meredith and Cunnington, 1988; Sexton and Bowman, 1990);
- Institutional, cultural and social contexts (Goffee and Scase, 1985; Carter and Cannon, 1992; Allen and Truman, 1993; Harris, 1995; Estrin et al, 2005; Aidis et al, 2005);
- Psychological needs or motives (Ljunggren and Kolvereid, 1996; Jean, 1997).

Objective 3 – Theories, which can be applied for explanation of entrepreneurial motivation

The third objective of the research was addressed in sections 2-5 of Chapter 3. These sections explored the aspects of women's motivation, identified in section 3.1.6 (p. 60), by the means of the theories outside entrepreneurship literature – in particular psychological theory of motivation (Heckhausen, 2003; McClelland, 2007; section 3.2). Other theories, which helped to understand the motivation of women entrepreneurs and were also discussed within the entrepreneurship literature, include trait approach (Chell, 1997; section 3.3), institutional theory (North, 1990; section 3.4), human and social capital theories (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1985; section 3.5).

Objective 4 – Exploration of the women's personal characteristics by the means of the interviews

The fourth objective of the research was addressed in Chapter 4, which developed the design of the interviews and the strategy of data analysis, and in data analysis chapters 5-7. Based on a review of methodological approaches found in the field of entrepreneurship (Grant and Perrin, 2002, Cope, 2005) and feminist approach to research (Harding, 1987; Letherby, 2003), Chapter 4 presented a comprehensive explanation of the methodology used in the research incorporating a supporting philosophical underpinnings for this form of inquiry (section 4.1). As the research aimed to explore the experience of the women entrepreneurs as perceived by the women themselves, the chapter focused on the subjective perspective (section 4.1.1) and qualitative methodology (section 4.1.4). The methodological approach adopted for this research follows the logic of interpretivistic, phenomenological inquiry (4.1.2), as it regarded the women's experience as phenomenon and describes this phenomenon as it was perceived by the women themselves and from their point of view (Cope, 2005). The feminist perspective was taken into consideration (section 4.1.3) as the research stressed that the experience under study is women's experience and recognized the importance of gender. The chapter outlined the method of data collection through in-depth phenomenological interviews (section 4.2) and a data processing and analysis, which follows the principles of phenomenological inquiry and sense-making approach (section 4.3). The researcher then identified the themes which emerged from unstructured interviews with the help of NVivo and developed those themes

by using sense-making approach (section 4.3.2, p. 125) and discussing them in relation to the literature.

The opening of Part Two introduced the three major themes which emerged from the interviews. Each of the subsequent chapters (Chapters 5-7) covered one of these themes. In this way data chapters give the answers to the questions which specify the fourth objective of the research.

Question 1 - The women's background and personal traits

What is the background of Russian female entrepreneurs and do Russian female entrepreneurs share any personal traits, and if so, what are they?

The first question, concerning personal traits and background was addressed in Chapter 5. The analysis of data (section 5.1) showed that the respondents were highly educated, all of them having a degree in higher education and many having more than one degree. The women performed well at school and later at university. The areas of first education varied widely, led by humanitarian (nine women), followed by technical (seven), natural science (six) and arts (five). Usually the incentive to acquire the second education was the need to change their profession after the transition to market economy, when their previous profession lost demand on labour market. Therefore most of the women acquired their second degree in economics, finance or law. Only two women had a degree in management; five women had attended short management training courses and the remaining 28 women had no formal management education at all. However, these women felt that possessing a degree in other disciplines gave them the necessary knowledge and skills, which they found were useful in business. Those with a degree in natural sciences saw that this had developed their analytical skills; those who had done technical studies had gained a good understanding of technology which was useful in their business activities; and those who had studied human sciences felt that their communications skills and understanding of the human condition had been well developed (section 5.1.2).

When talking about their upbringing, the women entrepreneurs experienced one of two types of up-bringing: the first type of upbringing could be called "over-protective" and the second type "liberal" or "laissez-faire" (see Table 5.2 on p. 144 for details). Those brought up in an over-protective environment were showered with care and attention, with their

parents focusing on trying to protect them from danger. This type of upbringing was also accompanied by parents enforcing strict rules of behaviour and having high expectations for the success of their children. By contrast, those brought up in a more “liberal” style received much less attention from their parents, who were more preoccupied with their own life and encouraged therefore, their children to sort out their own problems and decide on their own priorities independently.

Although contrasting in style both types of upbringing seemed, according to the women, to provide a good basis for them to become entrepreneurs. Those brought up in an “over-protective” parental environment claimed to have learned that success was dependent on high achievement whilst those in a more “laissez-faire” environment were taught independence and learned to adapt to the society in which they found themselves living or working. In either situation, the women felt that their upbringing had laid a foundation for the development of a strong personality and gave them a sense of purposefulness and desire to achieve (section 5.1.1).

Regarding the women’s personality (section 5.2) among the most frequent traits mentioned by the respondents are sociability (interpersonal skills), intuition and need for achievement. These traits are followed by diligence, resilience, self-assurance, honesty and restlessness. However, other traits, such as internal locus of control, high risk propensity, fatalism and ambition, received much less support, and were even disproved by certain respondents. With regard to risk-taking the women entrepreneurs showed a cautious approach emphasizing the greater need for taking responsibility for the business and their staff’s well-being. Resilience, intuition and honesty, displayed through the interviews, were developed especially as a consequence of the social, political and economic context of a Russia in transition causing many of them to seize entrepreneurship as a means of escaping unemployment or a precarious work environment.

To summarize, it can be said that the extensive human capital, the women acquired through the process of up-bringing, education and work experience; their personal traits, which allowed them to build and sustain relationships, respond to challenges, overcome problems and anticipate the future; and their high requirements for the life standard they wanted to achieve – all these factors created a fruitful ground to use the opportunity or follow the intention to start-up and manage successful businesses. The seeds for this ground were

planted by the situation women found themselves during the transition period and by the women's inner motives. Those seeds are the subject of the second research question.

Question 2 - Circumstances of the start-up and motivation to start and manage businesses

What motivated Russian female entrepreneurs to start and manage their own businesses from 1987 onwards?

The second research question was addressed in Chapter 6, which described the circumstances of the start-up and the women's motivation. The analysis of the data (section 6.1) showed that the majority of the women came into business after 1995. A little more than half of them (17) considered themselves opportunistic entrepreneurs, while others stated they had an intention to start-up a business. The respondents distinguished push and pull factors which influenced their decision to open a business. Among push factors they named need for money, divorce, need to support children, unemployment, responsibility for clients and employees, dissatisfaction with previous job and problems with line manager (section 6.1.3, p. 203). Among pull factors they named professional and career growth, friend's advice, favourable offer and interest in the business idea (p. 200). Among those women who came to business soon after transition (before 1995) push factors prevailed, while among those who came after 1995 pull factors prevailed (section 6.3.1).

The women talked about three main motives (section 6.2): concern for others, the need to achieve and to be recognized for this achievement. Often these motives combined, and were sometimes difficult to distinguish one from another. Many respondents said that they wanted to achieve success in business in order to be of benefit for, or maybe gain recognition from, those they love – their children, family, or even their employees. Self-actualisation, as well as the need to do something interesting, to realize their creative potential and to follow “the great dream” or idea proved to be important motivations for the women entrepreneurs.

They also mentioned that they started up their business because they wanted to have the excitement of starting something new and have the independence of being in charge of their material situation and freedom to make decisions. The desire to become a leader and take things into their own hands was attributed to being encouraged or inspired by others

from the time of their youth (section 5.1.1, p. 145). People, who were mentioned as influencing them, included their father, friends, colleagues and even “heroes” from history or famous people. The women mentioned that they admired the perseverance, uncompromising attitude, wisdom and influence that these people exercised.

Summarising it can be said that only the combination of situational and personal motivating factors resulted in the women’s decision to start-up and manage their businesses. Their motives originated from two main sources – desire to use what they have in abundance and desire to acquire what they have a lack of (section 6.3.3, p. 242). Women’s extensive human capital, acquired through their life, gave them the desire to use their potential and apply their talents in a way which is beneficial for them and society – this desire is in the core of such motives as self-actualisation, creation, achievement. Women’s personal traits such as ability to love and to feel empathy transformed to the motive of altruism or concern for those they love (family) and those they feel responsible for (clients and employees). Women’s leadership skills against a background of dissatisfaction of employee job led to the motive of taking leadership on themselves. Women’s restlessness, diligence and ability to overcome difficulties lay at the roots of such motives as change, rehabilitation, money and independence. And women’s high requirements to life standard resulted in the motives of interesting job, ownership, the great dream and idea.

The women’s motivation is not only the reason for starting and managing their businesses, but also one of the main conditions for successful business performance. The factors of success as perceived by the women are the subject of the third research question.

Question 3 - Factors and perception of success

How do Russian female entrepreneurs interpret what has led to their entrepreneurial success?

The third research question was addressed in Chapter 7, which discussed the factors of success as perceived by the women themselves. This theme was divided into measures and perception of success (section 7.1); human resource management and motivation (section 7.2.1); self-management and self-motivation or intrinsic factors of success (section 7.2.2). Self-management includes the skills, qualities and patterns of behaviour, women thought to

be vital for their success. Some of these qualities and skills were innate, others, women had to develop. This theme was developed by talking about the key elements of success; the meaning of success for them; their thoughts about the qualities of a successful entrepreneur and manager; reflections about their leadership style; their relations with staff; and the difficulties they had to overcome in business.

The women's criteria for evaluating their entrepreneurial performance and success divided into internal and external criteria (section 7.1). With regard to internal criteria these included: inner satisfaction and certitude that they are doing the right thing in running their own business. This resulting confidence provided the most important basis for their feeling of success. The external criteria for success related back to being given recognition and approval by others through their relational and affiliation ties. Whilst profits and growth were taken for granted as success indicators, the women placed more emphasis on the importance of how their clients' valued the quality of their product or service and their business reputation. Furthermore, some women equated success with overcoming difficulties and problems (section 7.1, p. 254).

The importance of human resources was underlined by almost all the respondents. They emphasized thorough selection of their staff, based on professional as well as human qualities of candidates; control over the goal accomplishment balanced with giving employees a certain degree of independence; and choosing rewards that motivate and tasks that match employees' capabilities (section 7.2.1).

The discussion of the intrinsic factors of success (7.2.2) showed that intuition was essential in an unstable environment with no, or fast-changing rules and regulations. The respondents confirmed that their intuition often helped them to avoid dangers and reduce risk (p. 282). The same skills also helped the women to find reliable and like-minded partners and investors. Honesty as a quality was also highlighted because, by building up reputation for honest business relations in an environment known for its high criminal and corruption activities, enabled the women to compete with other entrepreneurs, who may have used less honourable ways to make their profits (sections 5.2.13 and 7.2.2, pp. 271-273).

In addition, the women confirmed the importance of communication skills, empathy, love for people, experience and luck in meeting the right people for starting up and making a success of their business. In particular they emphasized their skills in using social capital, personal ties and understanding social contexts, social interactions, social ties, trusting relationships, and value systems that facilitate the actions of individuals in a particular social context (section 7.3.2). Interestingly, the identification of luck as contributing to success indicates that they see factors outside of their control impacting on the success or failure of their business. This acknowledgement of “luck” may be due to having lived through transition when soft rather than hard skills were required in order to survive and adapt to the constantly changing and often precarious environment (section 7.2.2, p. 282). In summary, the respondents talked about 14 factors that bring about success in their business (section 7.2):

1. Staff and human resources policy
2. Inspirational (charismatic) leadership
3. Interpersonal skills
4. Self-representation
5. Reputation
6. Commitment to business
7. Integrity and inner harmony
8. Strong desire
9. Faith and self-confidence
10. Knowledge
11. Vision
12. Intuition
13. Luck
14. Love

The overall conclusion reached is that love and faith were perceived by the respondents to be the most important conditions for success; according to the women interviewed it was

their love and/or faith that gave them the energy to do their work, the strength to overcome difficulties, a stimulus for achievement and the empathy to build up good personal relationships with employees, clients, partners, investors and even competitors. Love and faith are equally at the core of other factors of success. Love for humankind, i.e. a humanitarian outlook, is the key to interpersonal skills; effective human resource management; the pledge of integrity; the serene confidence that maintains inner harmony, providing sources of motivation and strong desire. Faith empowers women to be charismatic inspiring leaders, to ignite others with their vision, to enhance commitment to business; together with advanced knowledge and outcomes, faith or adherence to cherished principles leads to the creation of a good reputation for the company and its leader. Faith that they will succeed, together with intuition and deep-seated motivation, were believed by the respondents to have “made them lucky” (in Russian, *udacha* means both luck and success). In this way the women of this study believed they could influence outside circumstances by adopting the right mental and behavioural attitude toward external conditions. Furthermore, having love and faith made the women feel successful, as they stated that their inner satisfaction constituted for them the essential, overriding criterion of success (section 7.1).

Objective 5 – Relating finding to the theories found in entrepreneurship and motivation literature

The findings of the research enabled the author to reflect on the linkages between different theories found in the entrepreneurship and motivation literature. The themes identified and discussed above relate to a number of theories including trait theory (McClelland, 1961; Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; Sexton and Bowman, 1990), motivation and expectancy theories (McClelland, 2007; Maslow, 1954; Porter and Lawler, 1968), institutional theory (North, 1990; Aidis et al, 2005), social and human capital theory (Coleman, 1988; Baron and Markman, 2000; Welsch and Liao, 2005). The subsequent subsections discuss the contribution that this research has made to each of these theories.

Trait theory

This research allowed to explore in depth its findings vis-à-vis the theoretical prepositions of the trait approach. The investigation of the women entrepreneurs’ personal traits helped

to understand more profoundly the personal traits, proposed by the trait approach, and to add other traits typical for the women entrepreneurs which were ignored by the trait approach, such as intuition, honesty, diligence, resilience and fatalism (section 5.3.2).

Need for achievement, regarded as one of the three main qualities of an entrepreneur, was understood from a slightly different angle. The women entrepreneurs showed that often they wanted to achieve not for the achievement itself, but to please or to make an impression on other people – their parents, husbands, children or friends, or also to prove themselves that they are capable of doing it. In other words, their need for achievement was strongly connected with the need for recognition and self-esteem needs (sections 5.3.2, p. 183).

The second quality, discussed within the trait approach – risk propensity – was not found to be very pronounced in the majority of respondents. In contrast, the women entrepreneurs expressed a very careful and reserved attitude to taking risks. Moreover, they underlined that for an entrepreneur it is more important to be ready to take responsibility than to take risks. This prudent attitude towards risks can be explained partly by Russian cultural and social context, which does not favour taking risks, and partly by gender difference, as the women in the sample were mindful that they had to be more careful as they needed to care of their children. The masculine culture of Russia with its high power distance and low uncertainty acceptance seemed to increase the gender gap in the attitude to risk. As these dimensions of Russian culture started to change with the economical transition, however, the attitude to risk was found to be more positive among younger women or those women who had experience of communication with western culture through their work or personal social interactions (section 5.3.2, p. 184).

The third trait of an entrepreneur explored by the trait approach – locus of control – was found to be external rather than internal, thus contradicting the trait approach which emphasized the internal locus of control. The reasons for the external locus of control seemed to be due to context and gender differences. The context of transition economy is highly instable and the circumstances strongly influence people's life (sections 2.2.3 and 3.4.3). Also the women were found to be more dependant of circumstances, as it was more difficult for them to find access to resources and personal informal networks (sections 5.2.12 and 6.1.2). The essential role of social capital in the women's entrepreneurial

performance (section 7.3.2) suggests that interpersonal and social skills, which allow them to acquire social skills, are more important than internal locus of control. Some of these social skills, such as social adaptability and emotional intelligence, actually suggest external locus of control rather than internal locus of control of entrepreneurs proposed by the trait approach theory.

The new traits found in the respondents, which were not given much attention by the trait approach, are resilience, intuition, interpersonal skills and honesty (section 5.2.5, 5.2.7, 5.2.9 and 5.2.13). The importance of these traits can also be attributed to the social and economical context of Russian business environment. Resilience is important as the majority of the respondents were initially pushed into entrepreneurship as a consequence of finding themselves in adverse circumstances. In order to resist and survive in these adverse circumstances the women had to be strong and capable to transform negative emotional experience into a positive energy of business creation (section 5.2.5 and 6.2.11).

The women relied on their intuition because of the instability of the economy and unreliability of standard methods of forecasting. They also used intuition to make up for their lack of management and finance knowledge (section 7.2.2, p. 282) and furthermore, used it to develop social skills which they found were indispensable for acquiring social capital (7.3.2).

The importance of honesty could seem strange in a criminal and corrupted Russian business environment, where fraud is regarded as normal behaviour. But staking on honesty and trustful relationships allowed the women to compete with other entrepreneurs, who use maybe quicker but less honourable ways of capital accumulation. Honesty also helped them to develop the relational dimension of social capital (section 7.3.2).

These findings lead to a conclusion that personal traits of an entrepreneur may be altered by social context and that the extent to which these traits are expressed may differ for different groups of entrepreneurs, as found in the sample of the women entrepreneurs in this research. The overall conclusion to this is that though the women possess certain qualities mentioned by the trait approach, the importance of these qualities for successful entrepreneurial performance yields to other qualities neglected by the trait approach.

Motivation theory

The finding of this research deepened the understanding of the women entrepreneurs' motivation and extended the list of motives, proposed by the research on entrepreneurship (section 3.2.2, p.69). The literature on entrepreneurs' motivation does not go beyond enumeration of motives such as achievement, independence and wealth creation. This research showed that the motivational structure of the women entrepreneurs is much more complex. It also discovered that the motive of achievement was interrelated with affiliation and recognition motives (sections 5.2.1 and 6.2.9). The motive for being independent was usually driven by the women having experienced dissatisfaction as an employee (sections 5.1.3, 6.1.3 and 6.2.8). Wealth creation on its own very rarely motivated the women in their activity (section 6.2.7).

The research findings found resonance with the interactional approach in motivation theory, which implies that motivation is the result of personal and situational factors (sections 3.2.1, 6.3 and 7.3.1). The motives of the women entrepreneurs formed as an extension of their personal traits (Table 6.9, p. 241). and are in line with motives discovered by the psychologists and can be found in non-entrepreneurs too (sections 3.2.2 and 6.3.3). The difference is in the priority of certain motives over the others, the strength of the motives and in the speed of transformation of the motives into actions. A complex of push and pull situational factors played an essential role in the process of this transformation (section 6.3.1).

The research findings also found resonance with the expectancy theory (Porter and Lawler, 1968, section 3.2.3), which describes the process of transformation of motivation from intention to action and suggests that motivation is the result of expectancy (expected possibility of success), instrumentality (combination of push and pull factors) and valence (desirability of the outcomes) (sections 3.2.3 and 7.2.1). In the entrepreneurial environment, since delay is often fraught with painful losses, the evaluation of a situation and the opportunities it provides must be quick. Intuition helped the women to quicken the process of decision making, allowing them to leap-frog over the stage of opportunity evaluation to the stage of opportunity realisation (section 7.2.2, p. 280). The process of transformation from intention to action, which the women called self-motivation, seemed to depend on will highlighting the importance of diligence, perseverance, restlessness,

commitment and conviction for success (section 7.2.1). The research also showed that life changing events, which provoke strong positive or negative emotional experience, often activate passive motivational tendencies, start the process of intention formation and turn motivation into action (sections 5.2.5 and 6.2.2).

Expectancy theory model (Porter and Lawler, 1968) and some other motivational theories, such as Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs, discussed in the thesis (sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.2, p. 72), were often applied by the women entrepreneurs when they tried to motivate their employees or followers (section 7.2.1). The issues highlighted by the women entrepreneurs in relation to motivation of staff found resonance with expectancy theory model (section 7.3.1). The way the women motivate their staff also echoes McClelland's (1961) views with regard to achievement motivation and with Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs with regard to the need for esteem. The expectancy theory model also proved to be applicable when discussing those factors of success which the respondents considered intrinsic: faith, desire, love, commitment, knowledge and intuition (section 7.2.1, Table 7.9, p. 297).

Institutional theory

The observation of push and pull factors which led the women to starting their businesses found resonance with the institutional theory (North, 1990; Aidis et al, 2005), which implies that institutional context influences entrepreneurial behaviour and motivations (section 3.4.3). The fact that those women who came later were motivated more by pull rather than push factors shows how the change in institutional context affected the women's motivation. Furthermore, each push and pull factors can be associated with a certain formal or informal institution (Table 6.8, p. 233). This allows making a link between personal, situational and institutional factors of motivation (section 6.3.2).

The emphasis put by the respondents on informal networks (6.3.2, p. 237) led the researcher back to institutional theory: in the absence, or weakness of formal institutions, informal institutions start playing a more important role. The same can be said about knowledge: in the scarcity of formal explicit knowledge concerning management and market knowledge, intuition and tacit knowledge becomes more important (Hill and Shuvalova, 2007). The importance of luck as a factor of success (section 7.2.2) also finds

resonance with institutional theory, as it reflects both cultural traits of Russian mentality and unstable economic institutions.

Human and social capital theories

The high level of education of the women entrepreneurs (section 5.1.2) signified that they had extended general human capital (Bosma et al, 2004). General standard of culture and erudition, learning skills and self-discipline, acquired in the process of education, contributed in their eyes to their entrepreneurial performance. This part of human capital relates to the self-efficiency variable of human capital (Chen et al., 1998).

The fact, that some women directly used functional explicit knowledge, that they acquired at university, in business (section 5.3.1), suggests that the respondents have a high level of industry-specific human capital (Bosma et al, 2004). While the women possess high level of general and industry-specific human capital, they do not have much entrepreneurship-specific capital, which consists of business experience and training. Although only two women had a degree in management, the lack of entrepreneurship-specific capital was compensated by general and industry-specific capital (section 5.3.1). A degree, even though it was not related to business, nevertheless gave the women the knowledge and the skills, for running their business. Also one third of the women had managerial experience, usually gained after 1989, when they were doing career in finance, auditing or law. This experience was related by the researcher to entrepreneurship-specific human capital (section 5.3.1).

The researcher also made links with social capital theory (Woolcock, 1998; Baron and Markman, 2000; Welsch and Liao, 2005) from her findings. Links were made, in particular with regard to the emphasis placed by the women on their social skills, which they used to motivate staff and extend their networks (section 7.3). Interpersonal and leadership skills, self-representation skills, intuition and flexibility of vision, were also mentioned by the respondents as intrinsic factors of success and these were associated by the researcher under the notion of social skills. These social skills helped the women entrepreneurs to acquire social capital, and to extend both structural and relational dimensions of social capital (sections 3.5.1 and 7.3.2).

8.2. Contributions of the research

8.2.1. Contributions to knowledge

As it has been mentioned in section 1.4 (p. 16), this research has risen on the intersection of three areas of knowledge: gender studies; entrepreneurship; entrepreneurship in transition economies, notably Russia. The subsequent paragraphs will describe what contributions the findings of this research made to each of these three areas.

Gender studies

The findings of this research has contributed to gender studies by exploring the personal traits (section 5.2) and motivations (section 6.2) of the Russian women entrepreneurs interviewed and as perceived by the women themselves. The research reflected on the women's interpretation of their entrepreneurial success (section 7.1) and showed the women's approach to managing business, notably their human resources management (section 7.2.1), which they considered to be of a special importance for success. Also the research presented the women's reflections on what personal qualities, skills and patterns of behaviour contribute to their business success (section 7.2.2). Furthermore, the contribution to gender studies consists in the researcher's exploration of the myths which exist in Russian society about women in general and women in business, in particular (section 2.2.4); and how these stereotypes prevent women from entrepreneurial activity.

Entrepreneurship

The contribution of this research made to entrepreneurship literature is as follows. It has explored further entrepreneurial motivation among a group of 30 women business owners in Moscow operating within a specific institutional context, namely of the Russian transition economy. The data analysis (section 6.2) enabled the researcher to understand what feelings, thoughts and aspiration lay behind their motives, already known in the entrepreneurship and motivation literature (namely achievement, independence, recognition, leadership, money), and to discover other motives that had hitherto not been given adequate attention in the literature (namely change, rehabilitation, concern for others, creation, great dream, idea, interesting job). The research also extended the list of personal traits attributed to entrepreneurs (section 5.2) and reflected on how the women's

background, notably the style of up-bringing and relations with parents, influenced their decision to start-up and manage their businesses in Russia. The research also observed the journey of the women entrepreneurs as remembered by them, during a specific period of time (from pre-start up to present, mainly from 1987 onwards to present); and how this journey influenced the women's personality.

This thesis also contributes to our collective new knowledge about the sustainability of business by opening a discussion on a new approach to creating and managing successful, solid and risk-resistant companies. In developing this approach, the respondents were not trying to copy their male colleagues, and, therefore, developed their own distinctive model of a sustainable business. One of the particular features of Russian entrepreneurship is that women and men started to engage into entrepreneurial activity at the same time – in the beginning of the 1990s, and, therefore women did not have an established male model of a legal entrepreneur which they could copy. One type of an entrepreneur which was popularized through mass media was a semi-legitimate or even outright outlaw money-maker, who earned mainly on speculation or enriched himself on dishonest privatisation, and was often interrelated with criminal bodies (Kuzntesov, 2003). This model was unacceptable for women. The lack of knowledge about business strategies of western entrepreneurs and the absence of formal business training or education meant that Russian women entrepreneurs could not copy the model of American or UK business ladies. This resulted in Russian women entrepreneurs managing business in their own manner: being motivated more by interest, than by money, they give more importance to human resources management than to financial issues. This business model is more compatible with the role which Russian women have in the eyes of society – the role of mothers and homemakers.

Entrepreneurship in transition economy

This research contributed to the knowledge about female entrepreneurship in Russia from 1987 to 2007– an area within the literature, which still lacks the depth of inquiry and which is mainly dominated by quantitative studies (section 2.2.1). The data analysis sections reflected on the impact of a specific institutional and cultural context on the women's behaviour and personal traits, notably informal institutions such as family values, gender stereotypes, collectivistic culture and informal networks (section 6.3.2). Informal networks were found to provide a substitute for weak and inefficient formal institutions (p. 237).

Consequently, the women relied on personal relationships or social capital in order to help them achieve successful entrepreneurship performance. Furthermore, they considered their social and interpersonal skills as an important factor of success (section 7.2.2). Also, in the context of unstable and unpredictable business environments, the women demonstrated a prudent attitude to risk, further reinforced by collectivistic and high uncertainty avoidance dimensions of culture in Russian society (section 6.3.3, p. 184).

The respondents also showed some qualities which tend to be associated with the Russian national character as most of us understand it: a certain fatalism, mysticism and belief in luck. Russian people historically placed great hopes in external overriding force or authority, that can help or harm their lives (Harris, 1995). This power could be God, the Tsar, Destiny, Mister President or Lady Luck. The women used their intuition to follow what they perceived to be guiding advice from these various power-sources as they understood them, and some of the women believed these powers-that-be helped them in business as well as in private life. This detail highlights a typically Russian cultural feature, which Hofstede (2001) included into the “collectivism” dimension of culture.

8.2.2. Contributions to methodology

This work makes a contribution to more interpretivistic approaches to entrepreneurial research, as encouraged by Grant and Perren (2002), and notably within female entrepreneurship research in Russia. The researcher developed a hybrid methodology, combining the principles of qualitative, phenomenological and feminist inquiry, which were considered to complement one another (section 4.1). The research developed an interview design (section 4.2) which used elements from the literature review as a starting point, but then followed and adapted to the respondents’ flow of conversation, giving them the power to direct the discussion and in this way enabling the researcher to obtain the women’s authentic description of their experience as they perceived it. The methodology adopted for this research took note of Welsh and Piekkari’s (2006) use of language as a contextualising resource and Watkins-Mathys’s (2007) sense-making approach for working across Russian and English, thus focusing on including the researcher as a collaborator in the meaning-making process of the women’s views presented in the thesis.

8.2.3. Contributions to theory

The main contribution made by this research consists in the way the author has linked various bodies of theory within the context of female entrepreneurship in Russia. The findings allowed to link motivation theory with trait approach and institutional theory (section 6.3) by showing that the women's motivation is formed by both personal and situational factors. As personal factors include one's background, ergo the human capital acquired through upbringing, education and work experience; while situational factors include networks which represent social capital, the motivational theory is linked both to human and social capital theories.

The research also examined the women's motivation as a dynamic process, using the expectancy theory model. The contribution of this analysis consists in the application of expectancy theory and Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs in relation to motivation of leaders, namely women entrepreneurs. This analysis led to three conclusions. First: leaders are motivated by the three last levels of needs in Maslow's hierarchy of needs – affiliation needs, self-esteem and recognition needs, self-actualisation (section 6.3.3). Second: successful entrepreneurial performance depends on the intensity of motivation and not on the presence of this or that motive in an entrepreneur. And third: the intensity of entrepreneurial motivation depends on faith, self-confidence, knowledge and desire (section 7.3.1).

An additional theoretical contribution of this research is that it associated the themes women raised in their interviews, themes not directly mentioned in entrepreneurship literature – such as love, luck and intuition – with existing theoretical concepts. Thus, the respondents associated love with interpersonal skills, the part of social skills essential to acquisition of social capital (sections 3.5.1, 7.2.2 and 7.3.2). Intuition may be interpreted as tacit knowledge, a part of human capital (pp. 96, 184 and 280). As for the factor of luck, it can be processed through expectancy theory model as a performance-outcome variable (sections 3.2.3 and 7.3.1). The author hopes that this research will contribute to the inclusion of these important concepts into the theory of entrepreneurship and into the general public discussion of business issues.

8.3. Limitations of research

This research shares the limitations of any qualitative inquiry (section 4.4), which has a depth of analysis, but lacks a breadth of exploration, and therefore is restricted for generalisations. These limitations include:

- Non-representative sample;
- Subjective interpretation;
- Snapshot in time of the women's views

This research is limited because the sample of the respondents included only successful women entrepreneurs who do their business in Moscow (section 4.2.3). The sample was gathered mainly by the snowball method when the new respondents were found by the recommendation of the previous or through the women's organisation. This sample does not give an opportunity of generalisation for all Russian women entrepreneurs, as Moscow is the centre of business activity and the opportunities for business creation for women are more numerous. Also, as the capital of the country, Moscow tends to absorb social change more quickly than in more remote and isolated parts of Russia. Views, therefore, of female entrepreneurs outside of Moscow, regarding effects of transition, motivation and managing the business were not included in this study. Nevertheless, the geographical restriction of the sample should not limit the findings concerning personality and motivation because although almost all the respondents were doing business in Moscow, a quarter of them came from other cities.

Another limitation of the research is that it does not allow comparison with male entrepreneurs, and gender differences could be observed only through the eyes of the female respondents. The third limitation of the research is the shortage of secondary data. Owing to the lack of official statistical information the researcher had to rely mainly on the subjective interpretation of the respondents' experience. It also meant that the researcher found less opportunities for corroborating her findings with secondary data.

8.4. Implication for Further Research

The subject of women entrepreneurs' motivation and approach to managing their businesses has been given little attention in recent years in Russia. Several directions for research may arise to improve knowledge of the current issues. Further research would benefit from exploring further some of the concepts raised by the respondents and neglected by prior research in motivation, such as love, intuition and luck and building these concepts into the body of entrepreneurship theory.

In regards to personal traits the further inquiry can be made into how business changes the women's personality and their life. In addition, staying within the same research topics, a longitudinal study, which observes women at various stages of their entrepreneurial career, may better describe how women manage business changes with experience. With such a design, a researcher is able to witness the evolution of the women's businesses and their entrepreneurial skills *in vivo*.

The issue of experience which represents the tacit knowledge and improves intuition was considered an important factor of success by the respondents (section 7.2.2). How women learn from their experience, notably on the role of changing life events would provide a useful area for further research and contribute to the literature on entrepreneurial learning (Cope, 2005).

The dimension of cultural and institutional context and its influence on the women's behaviour were highlighted in this research (sections 5.3.2 and 6.3.2). Other researchers may narrow down the research subjects and follow up the finding of this research for a more thorough understanding of cultural values as facilitators and barriers for female entrepreneurship.

Also further research could benefit from expanding to other geographical regions of Russia, making specific studies for particular industries and comparing factors of success and business strategies used in different industries and different regions. Comparison of women's personal traits, motivations and approaches to business with those of men would be beneficial for gender studies.

In regards to theoretical development further research can be done on the intersection of several theoretical perspectives applied in this research, namely trait approach, institutional

theory, psychological theory of motivation and human and social capital theory. The intersection of motivation theory and trait approach could be explored through the research into which personal traits enhance this or that motive to start a business. The intersection of trait approach and institutional theory could be addressed by researching how the institutions influence the formation of entrepreneurial personality. The intersection of institutional theory and social capital theory could be addressed through further research on entrepreneur's networks, in particular on how entrepreneurs build and use them. The intersection of social capital theory and motivation theory could be explored by the means of a social constructionist perspective (Chell, 1997), by asking the question of how entrepreneur's motives and intention are influenced and shaped by their personal networks - people they meet and communicate with at their various stages of life.

Finally, in the view of the current global economic and financial crisis, the research could be made into how women survive in economic recession, whether their survival strategies differ from those of men and what advantages the female style of leadership can give to company's performance.

Appendix 1. List of questions

Background:

1. Could you tell me about your childhood and your relationships with parents?
 - Did you have a closer relationship with your mother or father?
2. Could you tell me about your studies at school and university?
 - What degree do you have?
 - How did you choose your university?
 - What made you to choose this area of study?
3. Could you tell me about your work experience?
 - What positions did you hold as an employer?
 - What did you like the most in your work?
 - What did you dislike the most in you work?
4. Could you think of any events that influenced your personality or the circumstances of your life?
5. Do you have an idol or an authority?
6. What do you think are your strengths and weaknesses?

Starting the Business:

1. Why did you decide to start a business?
 - What circumstances led you to starting-up your business?
 - What factors influenced this decision?
 - What goals did you hope to achieve by starting your business?

2. What kind of background do you believe is necessary for a woman to be successful in business?
 - What kinds of education requirements?
 - What kinds of requirements regarding social status, age or other?
3. What skills and personal qualities do you think you need or that would be helpful as a business owner?
4. What role did your husband, members of the family and other relatives have in your decision to start your business?
5. Did you have to register your business and if so, how was the registration process?
 - Did you receive assistance in registering the business and if so, what kind and from whom?
6. What inspire you the most in your business?

Running the Business:

1. How can you describe your management/leadership style?
2. How do you build your relationships with staff?
3. What things do you believe to be important for attaining success in business?
4. What are the qualities of a successful entrepreneur and management?
5. What are the biggest constraints you face in running your business?
 - Do you have constraints which pertain to financing?
 - Do you have constraints which pertain to legal requirements?
 - Do you have constraints which pertain to social requirements?

6. How have you overcome some of these social or institutional constraints?
 - Do you interpret success in business?
 - How do you evaluate the extent to which your business is successful?

Context:

1. What are some constraints for women to managing a business?
 - Are there specific social norms that are only applied to women that make starting, owning and managing a business difficult?
2. What are the institutional conditions in this country that make it difficult for women to manage a business?
3. Are there differences between male and female business owners?

Appendix 2. Structure of nodes

Tree nodes	Biographical Data	Personality	Attitudes	Start-up	Motives	Success	Management	Entrepreneur	Business
Sub-nodes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth • Parents • Education • Employee's experience • Managerial experience • Idol • Changing life events • Disaster 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-description • Merits • Demerits • Skills • Intuition • Independence • Fate • Views and believes • Life philosophy • Leadership • Values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work • Risk • Education • Profession • Failure • Money • Men • Husband 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circumstances of the start-up • Moment of the start-up • Feelings at the start-up • First business idea • First business trial • Reasons to start-up a business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change • Family • Other's benefit • Interest • Great dream • Inspiration • Independence • Leadership • Goals • Desires • Unwillingness to submit • Social improvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achievement • Factors of success • Measures of success • Perception of success • Love • Successful person 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Control • Goal-setting • Human resources • Management • Motivation • Perception of being a manager • Qualities of director • Recognition • Relationships with staff • Selection • Leadership style • Teaching 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entrepreneur's qualities • Entrepreneur versus manager • Entrepreneurship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business and family • Business development • Business experience • Clients • Competitive advantages • Description of company • Description of business sphere • Goals • Plans • Principles • Risks

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